

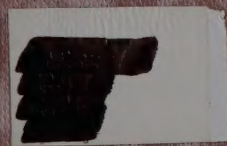
P. Kell. II

*Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4*

**KELLIS LITERARY  
TEXTS  
Volume 1**

**Edited by Iain Gardner**

**OXBOW MONOGRAPH 69**













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Edited by Iain Gardner

with contributions by

S. Clackson, M. Franzmann and K. A. Worp

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*For my parents,  
Elizabeth & Rex*

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## PREFACE

In this volume the reader will find a first selection of the Manichaean and other religious texts<sup>1</sup> that have so far been found at Ismant el-Kharab (the site of the Roman period village of Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis. This archaeological excavation is directed by C.A. Hope under the aegis of the Dakhleh Oasis Project (A.J. Mills), and is still very much in process. In view of the continuing work comments are necessarily subject to next season's finds; and in particular the social and cultural history that would provide a context for this material has still largely to be written<sup>2</sup>.

It is worth stressing that no synthetic account of the Manichaean community at Kellis that produced these texts is attempted at this time. Such an account must be based primarily on the wealth of Coptic documentary material, and which includes many personal letters written by devout believers. These are still in the process of being edited, and are to be published in this same series. Some introductory comments can be found in my paper 'Personal letters from the Manichaean community at Kellis'<sup>3</sup>.

The introductory chapter published here discusses the Coptic Manichaean texts from Kellis as literary and religious products; and with particular reference to their close links to the codices said to have come from Medinet Madi (see *infra*), which appeared on the Cairo antiquities market in 1929. Commentaries to the individual texts discuss details of codicology; together with matters of identification, content, and so forth.

One further clarification needs also to be made. The editorial board had originally hoped to publish all the Manichaean and other religious and literary texts found till the end of the 1993 season, together in a single volume. However, that has proved impossible, and rather than be tempted to delay publication of material that is now ready, this present volume is published in advance of a second. Of course, new discoveries may produce more material as well.

It has to be admitted that the division of texts has a logistic as well as an academic rationale. Not included here are the important codex leaves in Coptic identified as from

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. this volume contains literary material, mostly Manichaean or Biblical in content; rather than documents such as personal letters, receipts or legal texts.

<sup>2</sup> For the interim see various works by Gardner (Coptic or religious matters), Hope (archaeology), or Worp (Greek texts).

<sup>3</sup> Gardner 1993b; also see *ibid.* 1994. The editing of the Coptic documentary material is being undertaken collaboratively by A. Alcock, W.-P. Funk, and I. Gardner.



Mani's *Epistles*<sup>4</sup>; since I thought it better to study the remains of the Medinet Madi *Epistles* codex in Berlin and Warsaw, prior to publishing these. Also omitted are two important Greek texts where work is still in progress<sup>5</sup>.

Texts on papyrus or parchment and wooden board (tabula) have been assigned P. Kell. or T. Kell. signatures, such signifying nothing more than the publication sequence for future ease of reference. Thus the signature indicates nothing about the date or site of discovery at Ismant el-Kharab; although of course this information is given with the edition. Future monographs will continue the same series.

It is worthwhile also to comment on the physical conditions for work on this material, since it may help to explain certain features of the publication. Texts recovered by the excavation are kept in a simple magazine located in the eastern part of the Oasis, from where they can be brought to the workroom in the 'dig house' at Bashendi, under approval from representatives of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation. This workroom is a basic mud-brick construction rented, like the rest of the house, from local villagers. Light is very poor, and dust is so prevalent that no computing or other such equipment can be risked. Library facilities are essentially non-existent. Although the excavation is fortunate on occasion to be able to call upon the services of a professional photographer<sup>6</sup>, no facilities for film development are available on site; nor possibilities for infra-red photography.

The difficulties of such conditions, (even the persistence of flies and the vagaries of dust storms!), are certainly outweighed by the pleasures of good company, much enthusiasm and great expertise; and the intrinsic fascination of the material and project in total. Nevertheless, I make these points not to excuse but to explain some unusual features to be found here; and also that the technical quality of some photographs reproduced is only the best that could be achieved under these circumstances. Also, to note that the use of infra-red and other techniques, I particularly think of recent developments in computer enhancement, might very well result in improved readings. Indeed, in a couple of circumstances where the entire text is extremely faint or otherwise obscured, I have been

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<sup>4</sup> Inventory # ex P 30/P 55/P 59B and ex P 93C et al.

<sup>5</sup> These are the wooden board variously referred to as the 'Prayer of the Emanations' and the papyrus codex leaves said to be related to the *Acts of John*.

<sup>6</sup> My thanks to Robert Colvin for his expertise and patience, and also to Colin Hope and to Bruce Parr for their best endeavours in sometimes difficult circumstances. The negatives were developed by Rhonda Joyce and Shannon Mattinson of the Photographic section, Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University.



content merely to describe rather than attempt to transcribe. Future improvements in working conditions and equipment may make it worthwhile to revisit some of this material.

Finally, it is my sincere pleasure to thank all those who have contributed to this volume. Directly: Sarah Clackson who has prepared the Coptic indices, and who in that process brought many points to my attention; Majella Franzmann for the Syriac texts and indices, together with various work on the commentaries to the Syriac and bilingual pieces; and Klaas Worp for the same as regards the Greek, as well as much else besides. Many thanks to each for their enthusiasm, good company and professionalism.

Less directly: all my co-workers on the Dakhleh Oasis Project, especially Colin Hope for entrusting these texts to myself, and together with Anthony Mills for ensuring the physical and social environment; Geoffrey Jenkins for first inviting me to study the documents, and for early work in the reconstruction and identification of material; Michelle Berry for excellent help with conservation, in often difficult circumstances; and both Anthony Alcock and Wolf-Peter Funk for much valuable comment as always. All my many other colleagues and friends from Bashendi are in my thoughts.

Also I am pleased to express my gratitude to The Australian Research Council, The Australian Academy of the Humanities, The Egyptology Society of Victoria and Edith Cowan University for various monies and facilities that have made this research possible; and to all the members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation who have facilitated the work of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.

This volume has been completed simultaneously with work here in Berlin on Mani's *Epistles*. I am most grateful to my hosts at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung; and especially to Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme at the 'Turfanforschung' for helping to make my stay so worthwhile and enjoyable.

Iain Gardner,  
Berlin,  
August 1995.

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Description:*

The religious texts published in this volume were found amongst substantial quantities of documentary material in three private dwellings<sup>7</sup> of the Roman period village (κώμη) of Kellis. In general they are of poor or only average production, and often not well preserved. The content is not of any great literary value, and in terms of that content they do not make evident to scholarship much that was previously unknown. Nevertheless, the texts may be said to break new ground in a number of areas.

In brief, this material derives from members of a Manichaean community during that religion's period of growth and evangelical success in fourth century Egypt; and coinciding at Kellis with the final decline of the native and Graeco-Egyptian cults, together with the rise in power and authority of the catholic (for want of a better term) Christian church. There are many evident questions related to this period of transition, not least those to do with the development of monasticism; together with associated issues such as the spread of Coptic and the level of literacy. And, certainly, the finds at Ismant el-Kharab provide the first true opportunity<sup>8</sup> to study any 'gnostic' group in its social context, rather than as just collections of texts or as the target of opinions.

The discussion made by this introduction, and throughout the volume, must necessarily be more modest in scope; although it is an essential part of the above grander theme. In particular, the questions that can here be begun to be studied are of the following sorts:

- what kinds of texts had utility amongst this community, and (in turn) what sort of community was this?
- how does this relate to what is known otherwise of Manichaeism in Egypt, in particular from the Medinet Madi library?
- what do the contextual details of this literature, topics such as dialect and codicology, tell about the status of the community (and indeed its relationship to the catholic church)?

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<sup>7</sup> I.e. Houses 2 and 3 and 4, signified respectively as A/2 and A/5 and A/6; together with associated structures such as A/3. The great majority of the material was found in House 3 (A/5).

<sup>8</sup> In the early Christian context. Arguably, historical analogies can be found with such groups as the Cathars; or, in anthropological terms, with various contemporary 'sects'.

Of course, the sample of material found is in a way extremely limited, even within the potential resources of what may be extant from Kellis. Therefore, the usual qualifications must apply to this discussion. Still, a notable point of departure is the high proportion of psalms and related devotional material such as prayers, and particularly in Coptic dialect *L*, amongst the Manichaean literature so far found.

Manichaean texts have been found in three languages at Ismant el-Kharab. The majority are written in Coptic, and these always in dialect *L*<sup>9</sup>. The few instances of the Sahidic dialect amongst the documentary remains at the same time evidence a catholic<sup>10</sup> Christian authorship. The Kellis texts make it apparent that there was a well-developed Coptic Manichaean literature by at least the mid-fourth century c.e.; and also that the community placed a high value on literacy. The general thesis that the development of Coptic was driven by an urban and monastic elite, and that it was only gaining ground by this time, may need careful consideration. Kellis can at best be described as a provincial village, though admittedly the highly mobile Manichaean community may be some way from the norm. The link between dialect and faith-community also lends support to arguments concerning the social usage of Coptic dialects.

Bilingualism seems to have been widespread at Kellis, with some Greek at least being understood by a substantial proportion of the population. However, from the admittedly limited evidence available, it seems to have had a more restricted use as regards Manichaean literature. Proportionately, Greek was valued especially for external, administrative and formal usage; whereas Coptic was favoured for the domestic and internal. This is apparent from an initial comparison of the content of the Greek and Coptic personal letters from House 3.

The first generation of Manichaean missionaries would seem to have focussed their attention on the translation of the faith into a truly native discourse. The remarkable finds of Syriac from Kellis suggest that the community there was still in the process of becoming fully accommodated to its surrounding culture, though by now perhaps nearing the completion of this with, say, the third generation and beyond.

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<sup>9</sup> These comments on dialect are a broad summary. There is, of course, an important scholarly discussion about the nature and variety of *L* dialects. See Funk 1985

<sup>10</sup> This term is used merely to distinguish the imperial church and the faith (as promulgated by its bishops and theologians) from the Manichaeans, who also regarded themselves as Christians. On the rapid success of Sahidic see e.g. Waldstein and Wisse 1995: 6



Thus, it is in the Coptic texts published in this volume that one comes closest to the spirituality of that community evidenced by the accompanying documentary archive. Here can be counted at least nineteen separate psalms written by twelve or more hands<sup>11</sup>, and these same texts seeming to derive from five distinct productions ('codices') on wood and three on papyrus. The predominance of what may be broadly termed liturgical material suggests a vibrant faith focussed on praise and conversion. The often coarse hands make it apparent that these were not, in general, formal or scribal productions. Indeed, in one of the personal letters a father exhorts his son to practise his psalms, whether in Greek or Coptic, every day<sup>12</sup>. It would seem that the writing and singing of psalms was part of the spiritual praxis for the whole believing community. This is supported by the remarkable occurrence of various hands used for the writing of psalms, as most notably in P. Kell. Copt. 1 and 2.

Certainly, both the context as excavated and the written remains suggest a living and indigenous church in Kellis. Whilst there are explicit references to the elect and higher echelons of the hierarchy<sup>13</sup> in the documentary texts from House 3, it would seem that the community consisted in the main, as one must expect, of catechumens<sup>14</sup>. The leaders are, at least most of the time, elsewhere and about God's work. It would be difficult to argue that House 3 was monastic, given the general types of legal and economic material found there, not to mention the clear family relationships apparent throughout the archive. Still, the personal letters do indicate a particularly close-knit set of family groups within the believing community. To this extent, though it is not monastic, there are some of those communal characteristics to be found here as are known from the typology of sectarian movements, particularly in their earlier world-denying stages.

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<sup>11</sup> The difficulties of an exact calculation will be made apparent by the fragmentary nature of some of the remains.

<sup>12</sup> Makarios to Matthaïos: P 84,13-14

<sup>13</sup> In particular there are a series of references to 'the Teacher (ⲓⲥⲁⲓ)', one of the highest grades in the religion (see following note), who seems to be working in the Nile valley; e.g. P 70,49. However, the sending of greetings to the elect, found in letters to Kellis, shows that there certainly were such in the Oasis; e.g. P 57A,28-29

<sup>14</sup> The Manichaean church was divided, possibly on the Buddhist model, between the lay believers who could marry and work (catechumens or auditors) and the ascetic 'professionals' (elect). The higher grades were (in principal though perhaps not in later practice) rigidly structured. In ascending order: above the general number of the elect ('the brothers and the sisters') were the presbyters, then seventy-two bishops, then twelve teachers, and finally Mani's successor the archegos. See further Lieu 1994: 272; Wurst 1995:

The question arises as to what this great mass of material was doing in House 3. There would seem to be more textual remains and artefacts than can be accounted for by a simple residential context<sup>15</sup>. Whilst the number of psalms might suggest some kind of house church, this can be discounted in view of the other writings and archaeological findings. Rather, it may be that the material had been amassed or stored there. The reasons for such can only be speculative, but could be associated with the desertion of Kellis about the turn of the fifth century. Given the link to Manichaeism, and various indications both implicit and explicit of troubles and persecution, it is tempting to suppose that the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities finally caught up with the believers at Kellis. However, there is no way that this can be proved at present<sup>16</sup>.

In addition to psalms and prayers the finds of Manichaean literary texts at Kellis also include some more doctrinal material such as T. Kell. Copt. 1. However, (again with the necessary provisos as regarding the status of any hypothesis), such seem relatively limited and with an often catechetical purpose. This accords with the argument that the excavated context is predominantly that of the community of catechumens. The amazing detail of Mani's teachings as regards the various worlds of gods and demons, although a feature emphasised by the heresiologists for polemical purposes, would seem in some senses to have been restricted knowledge into which the elect might only gradually draw the convert. The concerns of the mass of believers were necessarily more matter-of-fact, for whom Manichaeism would have been a kind of higher and more effective Christianity.

Thus, it is not surprising that the first substantial passages from the writings of Mani found and identified at Kellis come from two Coptic codices of his *Epistles*<sup>17</sup>. In these scriptures Mani is concerned, as the apostle of Jesus Christ, to build up and strengthen the churches. Matters of ethical and practical concern predominate, gospel exegesis is common, and the Christian context most apparent. Similarly at Kellis, where the

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<sup>15</sup> E.g. there were at least 150 pottery vessels (and see the comments by S. Patten in Hope et al 1989: 20 - 22). Although sizeable numbers may have accumulated over time and have been stored on the roof (this is evident even today in the Oasis); for whatever reason, the sheer quantity of material *seems* well beyond what might be supposed the norm. Still, as C.A. Hope comments: 'We do not have a good idea just how much the residents would have owned, and without a detailed comparative study then I would avoid assuming that the contents of House 3 could not have belonged to its owners only (private communication 3.8.95)'.

<sup>16</sup> The archaeological excavation evidenced the accumulation of sand outside the main entrance to House 3, and the reason/s for its abandonment could have included this (Hope).

<sup>17</sup> Not included in this volume for reasons explained in the preface.



believers, as represented by their own writing in the personal letters, evidence little interest in (and perhaps knowledge of) the fantastic worlds described in a text such as the *Kephalaia*.

*Context:*

Mani believed himself to be the recipient of direct revelation from his divine Twin-Spirit, which Being was understood to be the Paraclete foretold by Jesus (Jn. 14:16). For the believers at Kellis the 'living Mani'<sup>18</sup> is now indeed the Paraclete<sup>19</sup>, whose being and words and spirit bear fruit in the true church. Thus, the religion began as an evangelical and even charismatic sect. It seems to have first reached Egypt before 260 c.e.<sup>20</sup>. By the turn of the century its success was attracting the attention and concern of both the state and the bishops. By this time Upper Egypt may already have become a principal focus of missionary endeavour, and the major cities such as Antinoopolis and Lycopolis would have been obvious sites for regional outreach centres.

According to this thesis Manichaean missions may be supposed to have reached the Oasis by the early fourth century; in theory this could have occurred before 300 c.e. How exact a date can be assigned to the Manichaean texts, such as found in this volume? The archaeological context for House 3, the find site of the major archive, is firmly fourth century as based on the evidence of ceramics and coins<sup>21</sup>. This is supported by the dated Greek documents; these come from every decade of the century, but none so far from after the 390's. It would thus seem that this house was deserted by the earliest part of the fifth century; and indeed this is the general impression given by Kellis as a whole. Discrete details, such as the Sahidic graffito in Shrine 1 of the Main Temple, could conceivably indicate later visits in the following decades, as one would expect. However, the present state of knowledge clearly suggests that the village was fairly rapidly abandoned, for whatever reason; a process that can be observed even today in the Oasis as populations leave the old towns of Balat or Qasr for more modern dwellings.

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<sup>18</sup> The meaning (from the Syriac) of 'Manichaios', the term used in both the Greek and Coptic.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. P 84,9

<sup>20</sup> Fragments of Manichaean church history survive in the Central Asian material, and detail mission to the Roman Empire during Mani's life-time. W. Sundermann has hypothesised a date even as early as 240 / 241 c.e. for the start of this mission (but see his comments 1981: 26 and *passim*). The middle Persian text M 2 indicates that Adda travelled to Alexandria and then Palmyra (n.b. the reference to Nařsā). Cf. Klimkeit 1993: 202 +ff; Lieu 1994: 26 +ff; Villey 1994: 47

<sup>21</sup> On coinage see G. Bowen in Hope et al 1989: 16 - 20, 1993: 26 - 27

The pagan temple was still in service till the 330's, according to the papyrological evidence<sup>22</sup>. In the mid fourth century there seems to have been some domestic usage, and by the time of the site's abandonment a number of the subsidiary chambers had accumulated rubbish. These decades can be supposed to have been a period of rapid Christianisation, as is apparent throughout Egypt and the Empire. The process may perhaps have lagged slightly behind in such a provincial area as the Oasis, but even still the whole social order would have changed within little more than a generation. By the time Kellis was deserted it was Christian<sup>23</sup>.

These changes are basic to fourth century history<sup>24</sup>. However, the presence of Manichaeism provides the opportunity for a more subtle analysis. If the evangelical mission of the Manichaeans was part of this process of Christianisation, converting a largely pagan population in the Oasis, this could help to support the thesis that the religion had a particular success in this area, and to explain why; i.e. to argue that Manichaeism (presenting itself as in truth Christian) had a greater appeal in an area not yet or only lightly evangelised, in contrast to one where the catholic church and its institutions had gained a firm hold. Such a thesis helps to explain the distribution pattern for the relative success of Manichaean mission; as well as its ultimate failure in the Roman Empire. Since the major thrust of Manichaean expansion westwards coincided with the victory of the church under Constantine, and that rapid marriage to the power of the state and society evident in the following decades, it may perhaps simply be said to have arrived too late!

Thus, if it is more difficult to conceive of significant success for Manichaeism at Kellis, (presuming that this is indeed the case), after the firm establishment of the institutions of catholic Christianity; then this would suggest that the early Christian population in the Oasis, as elsewhere, was far less tied to some orthodox or uniform understanding of the meaning of Jesus than received history has suggested. Thus orthodoxy is a matter of gradual (and continuous) imposition and enforcement from above; as indeed the life and work of Athanasius shows. In similar vein, the rich mix of paganism, popular magic, Christianity and Manichaeism in fourth century Kellis should not surprise.

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. P. Kell. Gr. 13,14: ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης Αὐρηλίου Στ]ώνιος Τεπνάχθου ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Κέλλεως (335 c.e.). It is possible that Stonios merely clung to his old title (Worp).

<sup>23</sup> I.e. not pagan, the term 'Christian' potentially including Manichaeism in this instance.

<sup>24</sup> See the authoritative summary and literature cited by Bagnall 1993



One of the Greek personal letters showing undoubted Manichaean authorship<sup>25</sup> is to be dated on palaeographic and prosopographical grounds to the earlier fourth century. Whilst it is necessary to be cautious about such arguments where lacking supporting evidence, there are a number of reasons for supposing the presence of a Manichaean community at Kellis by, say, 320 or perhaps 330 c.e. at the latest. The archive of documentary texts from House 3 covers the whole century, and while certainly the material can not be supposed to be entirely of Manichaean origin, genealogies can be traced within it that indicate Manichaean belief over a number of generations. Similarly, the argument made above as regards the process of evangelisation in the Oasis would support the thesis that Manichaeism arrived earlier in the century, rather than later. Also, the noticeable evidence of the transformation of pagan into Christian names is apparent in the documentary material of Manichaean origin, particularly the rich collection of Coptic personal letters. A date in the final decades of the fourth century would seem too late for this.

It would appear that the Manichaean community at Kellis had a history covering a number of generations, from initial evangelisation through accommodation within the wider community, and probably on to later persecution from administrative forces above and outside of the village. However, it would also seem most reasonable to suppose that many of the actual texts left in House 3, say about 400 c.e., were themselves written later (e.g. 360 c.e.) rather than earlier (330 c.e.). Such an argument is difficult to maintain with force, and the present limitations of Coptic palaeography mean that little help can be gained from that source as regards such details. Nevertheless, noting the present state of knowledge and that research is still very much in process, it can be contended that the text of the Manichaean psalms as edited in this volume represents a kind of second generation in the evolution of the *Psalm-Book*. That is to say, these pieces represent literary productions that have already come into existence and been established; an initial stage of translation from the Greek and Syriac that would have occurred early in the century, presumably at some centre such as Lycopolis. A later ‘third’ stage is represented by the fine Medinet Madi codices where the psalms and other Manichaean literatures have been gathered and redacted and indexed into relatively stable forms<sup>26</sup>. My own ‘working’

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<sup>25</sup> P. Kell. Gr. 63 in Worp 1995: 167 - 170

<sup>26</sup> See Richter 1994 and Wurst 1995 for discussion of the dates and original languages to be assigned to various of the individual psalms and groups of psalms. In brief: the *Psalm-Book* may be said to have had disparate origins with its earlier parts (especially the Psalms of Thomas) deriving from Aramaic originals of the second half of the third century, but during an extended redaction history Greek and perhaps even Coptic psalms and expansions being added. In principle, there is no objection to the idea that Coptic Manichaean psalms existed by, say, 320 c.e.

thesis is that the Kellis psalms from House 3 can be assigned to ca. 360<sup>27</sup> c.e.; and the Medinet Madi codex to ca. 400 c.e. However, one could push both these dates a generation earlier.

*Kellis and Medinet Madi:*

The sometimes poorly preserved psalms edited in this volume are, despite their condition, of considerable interest as regards comparison with the Medinet Madi *Psalms-Book*. This work is one of the seven codices of Coptic Manichaean texts that first appeared on the Cairo black market in 1929, and which are now housed in Dublin and Berlin<sup>28</sup>. The codex, the largest ever discovered from this early period, is a collection of some hundreds of psalms, complete with index. Prior redaction history is evident in the various grouping mechanisms found within the work, above and beyond an extended textual history as apparent in the various parallels and variants to be found in the readings. Thus the *Psalms-Book* is a constructed work in the process of development, with the Medinet Madi codex representing one particular and later stage in this. In contrast, the Kellis versions are earlier, and thus aid in an understanding of this process.

The psalms, or at least a substantial proportion of them (for independent Coptic composition can not be discounted), were originally composed in Aramaic. Their origin and translation into Coptic, whether or not through the medium of Greek, has been the subject of considerable discussion. Now, new evidence is provided by T. Syr. / Copt. 1. This is a bilingual glossary that seems to record both the Manichaean Syriac and Lycopolitan Coptic of particular terms used in one or more psalms. Thus the community at Kellis was very much aware of the linguistic origins of its liturgical material. However, it seems improbable both for reasons of dating (especially as regards textual history) and geography that they were directly involved in the first translation of the texts<sup>29</sup>. Thus the glossary would seem to have a didactic purpose, and may evidence attempts at language learning or practice.

The actual Coptic psalms from Kellis represent a stage somewhat earlier in the development of the *Psalms-Book* than the Medinet Madi codex. So far, six of them have

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<sup>27</sup> If anything the production details of the psalm from House 4 (T. Kell. Copt. 7), that is the format of the strophes and doxology as well as palaeography, would suggest a slightly later date at the end of the fourth century. This could accord with its find site.

<sup>28</sup> On the history of the find and the editing of the texts (still in process) see Schmidt, Ibscher and Polotsky 1933; Robinson 1992

<sup>29</sup> These comments here supersede some I (IG) have made earlier, at the time of first impression; see Gardner 1993



been identified as having direct parallels in that work<sup>30</sup>. There are a number of interesting variants between the two versions, and these are detailed and where appropriate discussed in the text editions below. Some examples can here be used to demonstrate the apparent priority of the Kellis psalms:

- T. Kell. Copt. 4,26 **ΕΤΟϚΔΖ** is prior to the parallel *PsBk* 2. 8,24 **ΕΤΟϚΔΒΕ** a corruption from the following line (= 8,25);
- P. Kell. Copt. 1,3 **ΠΕΝΤΑΥ/** where this third person singular is preferable to the first person of *PsBk* 2. 55,4 which indeed misled Allberry in his reconstruction of the lacuna;
- P. Kell. Copt. 1,5 **ΤΣΕΤΕ Ν̄ΝΔΔΙΜΩΝ** ('the fire of the demons') must predate *PsBk* 2. 55,6 ... **Ν̄ΝϚΔΛΜΙΕ** ('... the fountains') which makes no sense.

In contrast, there are a number of occasions where the Medinet Madi version provides the better text. However, in these cases the cause would seem to be the poor and even semi-literate quality of the Kellis copy. Notable examples include:

- P. Kell. Copt. 1,18 **ΤΜΕϚ ΜΠΩϚ Ν-** for ... **ΜΠΩΝϚ ϚΝ**
- P. Kell. Copt. 2, text C1 where there are numerous careless errors.

Thus, the Kellis psalms evidence an earlier stage in the textual history of this literature; whilst the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* is a much more careful and professional recording. In the latter the psalms have been grouped at least partly in response to liturgical practice. The psalms for the Bema festival are an obvious example, for the original index to the codex records the group title **ΒΗΜΑΤΙΚ/**<sup>31</sup> No trace of this redaction process is yet evident in the Kellis versions; for they neither follow the numerical sequence of the *Psalm-Book*, nor are consecutive Kellis psalms necessarily derived from the same group.

An instructive example is T. Kell. Copt. 4 where Bema psalm 222 is immediately followed by psalm 109. Whilst it is theoretically possible that this too belongs to a (separate) group of Bema psalms, the title apparent in the index would seem to exclude

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<sup>30</sup> Three of the six are identified from the facsimile of the *PsBk* 1, of which there is no critical edition. It must be stressed that where this text is quoted it is read from the photographs merely for the purpose of illustrating the parallel, and has no pretensions to be anything more.

<sup>31</sup> *PsBk* 2. 232b,16

such an hypothesis<sup>32</sup>. It is also highly unlikely that the Kellis community had an entirely different ‘book’ reflecting a separate liturgical tradition. It could be that they had access to some form of the *Psalm-Book*, but selected ‘at whim’ what they liked or for some reason found suitable to the occasion; although the lack of any numeration or other signifiers would tend to tell against this. However, the most probable cause (bearing in mind all the issues) is that the Kellis psalms predate at least the latter parts of the redaction process that gave the Medinet Madi codex its distinctive form.

These points are of importance when considering the different social contexts. Similarly the comparison of dialect and orthography. The whole question of the number, variety and significance of the Coptic dialects has been the subject of considerable debate over the years<sup>33</sup>. Some issues remain undecided, particularly as regards the early non-Sahidic dialects of Upper Egypt. Still, the great majority of the Coptic texts from Kellis so far viewed, and this certainly includes all the overtly Manichaean literature, evidence most characteristics in common with the dialects termed sub-Akhmimic (*A2* or better *L* - Lycopolitan). *L4* is the specific dialect of those other Manichaean codices from Medinet Madi, (itself in the Fayoum and thus those texts were displaced). Admittedly the very designation ‘sub-Akhmimic’ is problematic<sup>34</sup>, and the question of the identity of any normative dialect for the Kellis Manichaean community can not be answered here.

In comparison to *L4* the most striking feature about the texts published in this volume is the varying use of conjugation bases. Whilst some pieces (e.g. T. Kell. Copt. 7 and T. Kell. Syr./ Copt. 1 - 2) correspond to *L4* there are a group of others that use  $\varrho\delta$ / for the Perfect Affirmative (*L4*  $\delta$ / )<sup>35</sup>. These include what I take to be locally produced collections of psalms here published as P. Kell. Copt. 1 - 3. These same texts then also exhibit  $\delta$ /  $\delta\rho\epsilon$  for the Second Present (*L4*  $\epsilon$ / ). However, it is not clear how uniform is this usage. T. Kell. Copt. 2 would seem to evidence both  $\varrho\delta$ / and  $\delta$ / for the Perfect.

There is also the question of the significance of these forms, is the usage topographical or social or temporal?  $\varrho\delta$ / has long been recorded for the Medinet Madi codices, although it is not found in any of the yet edited parts of these works<sup>36</sup>. Thus it could be that the

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<sup>32</sup> The incipit and number of psalm 109 is recorded in the index at *PsBk* 2. 230b,18; it appears to be placed in a group under a title (230b,14) that Allberry read as .  $\Pi\delta$  . .  $\Pi$  See also Krause 1991: 182

<sup>33</sup> E.g. see Hintze 1984; Funk 1988; Kasser 1990

<sup>34</sup> See Funk 1985

<sup>35</sup> In some (unpublished) Kellis texts forms such as  $\varrho\varphi$ - (relative  $\tau\varrho\varphi$  for  $\epsilon\tau(\varrho)\delta\varphi$ -) are found, e.g. the personal economic accounts that must be local in origin: A/5/218, P 80B + P 92A

<sup>36</sup> Thus Crum 635a; and see Funk 1984 (passim and n.9).

transformation ϣⲁ / to ⲁ / is in fact a temporal process of which some Kellis texts evidence an early stage and Medinet Madi a later one. In this case it could prove to be a dating mechanism. However, if the variation is social and / or topographical then it would serve to demonstrate the origin of the piece.

In general the texts published here are small local productions that contrast with the fine Medinet Madi works. However, there is some evidence for the remnants of more extensive codices. P. Kell. Copt. 4 preserves a section number in the 60's; and P. Kell. Syr. / Gr. 1 section 42, perhaps even on page number 408. These readings are not certain, but they are not in principle unlikely or at least impossible when compared to other Manichaean works of the period. It would appear again to be the case, as previously both with Medinet Madi and the *CMC*, that the value this community placed on literacy and scripture (even in such a provincial site as Kellis) surprises our often more cautious estimates about book production in late antiquity.

The texts from Kellis will open up a new phase of research for a number of disciplines. The firm archaeological context is of real significance when considering palaeography and codicology. As regards the first of these Coptic studies has hardly begun. I can here foreshadow that amongst the documentary texts from House 3 there are a great variety of hands, the fluidity of some again being a surprise for this date, and in comparison with which many of the pieces published here appear rather childlike or at least unprofessional. No firm conclusions can be reached until these are all viewed. Again, the sometimes coarsely produced remnants edited in this volume, a number of which appear to have been prepared for re-use, can be misleading. They must be placed in the context of the vibrant culture and heart-felt spirituality of the personal letters. There is no reason to suppose from this evidence that Manichaeism had been abandoned, and that this is the reason for the find.

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Our beloved daughter, the daughter of the holy church, the catechumen of the faith; the good tree whose fruit never withers<sup>37</sup>, which is your love that emits radiance every day. She who has generated for herself her riches, which are stored in the treasuries that are in the heights, where moths shall not find a way nor shall thieves dig through to them to steal<sup>38</sup>; which (storehouses) are the sun and the moon. She whose deeds resemble her name, my daughter, peace. I am your father who writes to you in God. Greetings.

I greet <you> warmly in love, God-loving, good-loving; I am praying that you may continue in health of the body, and gladness of the spirit, and joy of the soul, until we see you (pl.) again.

Furthermore, I write, giving you the remembrance that you [...] for the matter is fine, until I come up. Once you have laid the foundation of your house, fight in every way to put on its coping that you may be at ease therein for ever. Do the work and mix the warp (?) until I come.

If you have oil standing, give a *khous* to our brother; let him send it to me, or two naturally / if possible (?). If also there is wheat, give him eighteen *maje*; until we meet one another and settle our account.

Just fight in every way to complete the work, for a person knows not at what hour the thief will come to dig through to the house<sup>39</sup>. Indeed, I have heard that you are sick several days. I am grieving; but, praise God, they say that you are getting better. There is no health without your health!

Live in God, our beloved daughter<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Mt. 7:18

<sup>38</sup> Mt. 6:19-20

<sup>39</sup> Mt. 24:43

<sup>40</sup> Draft translation of a Manichaean personal letter from House 3 (P. Kell. Copt. 32 = P 92.18); from collaborative work in progress with A. Alcock and W.-P. Funk.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Akhmimic Coptic.
A2	Sub-Akhmimic (or variously subAkhmimic etc.) Coptic; now better termed <i>L</i> .
CMC	Henrichs, A., Koenen, L., 'Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Coln. inv. nr. 4780)', <i>ZPE</i> , 5, 1970: 97 - 216; 19, 1975: 1 - 85; 32, 1978: 87 - 200; 44, 1981: 201 - 318; 48, 1982: 1 - 59; <i>Der kölnner Mani-kodex</i> , crit. ed. L. Koenen and C. Römer, Opladen 1988; <i>The Cologne Mani Codex: 'Concerning the origin of his body'</i> , tr. R. Cameron and A.J. Dewey, Missoula 1979.
Crum	Crum, W.E., <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1939.
DOP	Dakhleh Oasis Project.
EAO #	Egyptian Antiquities Organisation registration number (for internal use only).
(H)	<i>The Coptic version of the New Testament in the southern dialect</i> , ed. G. Horner, 6 volumes, Oxford 1911 - 1924.
Homs	<i>Manichäische-Homilien</i> , ed. H.-J. Polotsky (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty 1, Stuttgart 1934) = <i>Homilies and Varia</i> , facsimile ed. S. Giversen (The Manichaean Coptic papyri in the Chester Beatty library II, Geneva 1986).
Inv #	Inventory number used by the DOP.
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Archaeology</i> .
Kasser	Kasser, R., <i>Compléments au dictionnaire Coptique de Crum</i> , Le Caire 1964.
Keph	<i>Kephalaia</i> , ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Man. Hss. der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart 1940); ed. A. Böhlig (ibid. 1.2, 1966); <i>The Kephalaia of the Teacher</i> , tr. I. Gardner, Leiden 1995.
Keph (D)	(Dublin) <i>Kephalaia</i> , facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. I, Geneva 1986).
L	Lycopolitan or Sub-Akhmimic Coptic. <i>L4</i> is the dialect of the Medinet Madi texts.
Lampe	Lampe, G.W.H., <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1961.
lh / rh	Left / right hand.
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., <i>A Greek - English Lexicon</i> , new ed. H.S. Jones, Oxford 1940.
MM 1-3	Andreas, F.C., Henning, W., 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan 1 - 3', <i>SPAW</i> , Phil-Hist. Klasse, Berlin 1932 (X); 1933 (VII); 1934 (XXVII).
PsBk 1	<i>Psalm-Book</i> , I, facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. III, Geneva 1988).
PsBk 2	<i>A Manichaean Psalm-Book</i> , II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry (Man. Mss. Chester Beatty 2, Stuttgart 1938) = facs. ed. S. Giversen (ibid. IV, Geneva 1988).
r / v	Recto / verso (rarely a true recto, here used on occasion to indicate the sequence of text so that r precedes v).
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> .
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

[ ... ]	Lacuna of undetermined length.
[ . . . . ]	Lacuna where the number of missing letters are calculated.
[ <b>NO</b> ]ϛ <b>TE</b>	Lacuna with restored text.
<b>N&lt;O&gt;</b> ϛ <b>TE</b>	Emendation of the text by the editor.
<b>Ḣ</b> ϛ <b>TE</b>	Letters read without certainty.
. . . Ḣ .	Letters that can not be read with a helpful degree of probability.
<b>NO</b> ϛ[[ <b>T</b> ]] <b>E</b>	Text corrected by the scribe.
\ <b>NO</b> ϛ/ <b>TE</b>	Letters written above the line.
[ <b>NO</b> ]ϛ <b>TE</b> (?)	Explanatory material or comment by the editor.
<b>Δ</b> Ḣ(	Only the start of the word is given by the scribe.
<b>Δ</b> Ḣ/	Abbreviation of the word indicated by the scribe.
+ <b>Ϝ</b> ϛ <b>Π</b> +	Corrupt text, these letters not to be read.
{ }	Dittography.
/	Line break.





## SECTION A: COPTIC TEXTS

(Iain Gardner)

### T. Kell. Copt. 1

**Inv #** A/5/346<sup>41</sup>

**EAO #** 2114<sup>42</sup>

**Site:** House 3, room 11, level 4<sup>43</sup>

**Description:** reused wooden board. 74 x 54 x 2 mm<sup>44</sup>. Inscribed with black ink. Side a: 13 lines. Side b: 1 line. Margin: 3-5 mm (upper), 3-4 mm (lower); no true margin at sides. A stroke divides a3-4.

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<sup>41</sup> The numbering system employed by the excavation for finds of inscribed material can be explained as follows: a) Initially each piece was assigned an inventory number of the type A/5/346 where A = Area A, A/5 = House 3, and A/5/346 = the object. This system is still used for the wooden boards. b) When substantial quantities of papyrus were found in House 3 in 1991 they were assigned a number of the type P 82B where P = Papyrus, P 82 = the specific find deposit, P 82B = the glass in which the piece/s is now framed. Subsequently as the papyrologists have moved and joined fragments new glasses have on occasion been created, so that there now exists e.g. P 82Bi and P 82Bii. c) From 1992 the season of discovery has been recorded so that P 92.18 is an indication of that year. It should be noted that each of the above systems are for internal DOP records. When the piece is published it is assigned a P. Kell. or T. Kell. number, as in this volume; (where reference is made to a piece by its DOP inv # alone it means that it has not been officially published).

Thus P. Kell. Copt. 2 (or abbreviated to P.C. 2) published in this volume refers to the fragmentary remains of a particular codex of Manichaean psalms. It equates to the glasses P 82Bi/ii, each of which contain fragments moved from other deposits. These movements can be tracked in the cross-reference list of inventory numbers provided at the end of this volume. N.b. the P. and T. Kellis numbers utilised in some early reports about the find should be ignored.

<sup>42</sup> N.b. The EAO registration numbers are given for the individual wooden boards (T. texts) throughout this volume, since this aids the identification of the piece in the EAO's storage facilities. In contrast, papyrus and parchment (P. texts) are all grouped together for EAO registration, and thus there is no need to record the number.

<sup>43</sup> Details of the specific find deposits are derived from excavation data kindly provided by C.A. Hope. See also Worp 1995: 3 -7 for plans of the site and discussion of the dispersal of inscribed material.

<sup>44</sup> Where not otherwise indicated dimensions are vertical x horizontal x thickness (wooden boards).

b14: followed by 3 lines, part crossed out, of an illegible scrawl. Perhaps a 'pen trial', and presumably added by a later hand.

**Dialect:** *L*. With reference to Med. Madi note  $\Psi O P^{\dagger}$  (*L4*  $\Psi O O P^{\dagger}$ ), and  $\bar{M} M O$  ( $\bar{M} M E \sigma$ ). Both forms occur in the *Homilies*.

**Content:** complete Manichaean doctrinal text. A highly structured and didactic summary of five  $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  of the Father (of Greatness) as reflected in the Third Ambassador.

**Purpose:** Catechetical.

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

a1    NIM PE ΠΪΩΤ' ΝΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΡ  
 2    ΨΑΜΤ ΜΠΡΕΣΒΕΣΤΗΣ' ΠΕΤ  
 3    ΨΟΠ ΔΠ†ΟΤ ΝΣΧΗΜΑ ΜΠΪΩΤ  
 4    ΠΨΑΡΠ ΔΕ ΟΣΠΕΤΔΑΣΕ ΠΕ Δ  
 5    ΠΪΝΕ ΜΠΪΩΤ' ΠΜΑΡΣΝΕΣ ΔΕ  
 6    ΟΤΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΪΩΤ` ΕΤΟ  
 7    ΝΡΡΟ ΔΔΝ ΝΕΥΔΙΩΝ' ΠΜΑΡ  
 8    ΨΑΜΤ` ΔΕ ΠΪΟΤΔΪΝΕ ΠΑΡΨ Δ  
 9    ΒΔΛ ΔΔΝ ΝΕΥΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΤ'  
 10   ΠΜΑΡΥΤΑΘ ΔΕ ΟΣΠΕΤΡΗΠ ΠΕ  
 11   ΔΠΪΝΕ ΜΠΪΩΤ ΕΘΗΠ' ΠΜΑΡ†  
 12   ΟΤ ΔΕ ΟΣΗΤΕΥ ΜΜΟ ΝΤΪΜΝΤ̄  
 13   ΗΔΤΣ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΔΠΪΝΕ Μ  
 b14  ΠΜΝΤΣΝΑΤΣ ΝΔΙΩΝ ΜΠΪΩΤ:

a1 Who is the father?

He is the Th/ird Ambassador, who / exists (corresponding) to five properties of the Father.

/ First: (he) is an exalted one; after <sup>5</sup> the likeness of the Father.

Second: / (he) is a king; in the manner of the Father, who is / king over his aeons.

Th/ird: his light is spread o/ut over all his aeons.

<sup>10</sup> Fourth: (he) is a hidden one; / after the likeness of the hidden Father.

Fif/th: he has his twe/lve virgins; after the likeness of <sup>b14</sup> the twelve aeons of the Father.



**Format:** In form and terminology T. Kell. Copt. 1 resembles an extract from the *Kephalaia*. That lengthy text evidences a delight in precisely this kind of doctrinal detail, with the points carefully categorised and numbered. Essentially the *Kephalaia* is an elaborate taxonomy of the Manichaean universes; which is contextualised in chapters, some as short as the fourteen lines above, and each presenting Mani's answer to some question. Indeed, a number of the chapters are specifically devoted to the works and character of the Third Ambassador; and much of the terminology found here can be paralleled there.

As a typical example that bears on the question of 'the Father', chapter 20 may be quoted<sup>45</sup>:

*The Chapter of the Name of the Fathers.*

[On]ce again the enlightener speaks to his disciples: The [Father of] Greatness, as he is named; due to what reason is he given the name 'the Father [of] Greatness'?

His disci[p]les say to him: We beseech you, our master, that you may enlighten us about this [g]reatness; for who is it that is named 'the Father o[f G]reatness'?

Then he speaks [to] his disciples: Now, the Father, who is the first esta[b]lished thing, [shall be cal]led 'the Father of Greatness'. His greatn[ess is the gr]eat earth where he lives, he being established [i]n it [...] the essence of the light that swathes all the [r]ich go[d]s and the angels and the dwellings [...] is set over it.

[Furthermore, they shall c]all the Third Ambassador ['father'. His greatness i]s the light ship of living fire [wherein he lives], he being established in it.

[Once again, J]esus the Splendour shall himself also be called 'father'. His [greatn]ess is the ship of living waters where he lives, [he being established in it].

[They shall] also [call] the Pillar of Glor[y] 'father'. It[s] gre[atness ...] the five gods of hol[y ...] which [live and are establ]ished in them. They [...]

Again, [the] Li[ght] Mind shall be [called] 'father'. His gre[atness] is the [holy] church; becaus[e] he lives [and is established i]n it. It also [...] in it [...] alone. They [... li]ght.

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<sup>45</sup> *Keph.* 63,20- 64,12, tr. Gardner.

However, T. Kell. Copt. 1 lacks that context wherein Mani answers questions posed by a disciple (or some other framing sequence). There is thus the intriguing choice of deciding whether it is prior or secondary to a more constructed text. The status of the initial question ('Who is the Father?') is also of importance. It can not really be termed a 'title' to the piece, but is rather a catechetical device.

Brief catechisms of this kind may have existed from the earliest period of Manichaean history, and presumably derive from oral practice. Such would ensure that doctrinal unity which is so evident across the Manichaean world. It is probable that Mani himself initiated the use of memory aids in his teaching. In particular, the use of numerical sequences and structures seems to be embedded in the most fundamental strata of Manichaean doctrine: thus the five sons of the First Man, and the five sons of the Living Spirit.

Much of the *Kephalaia* itself may well be regarded as a secondary document where the framing sequences have been added to an ur-text of the kind found here at Kellis. In some chapters hardly any context exists at all. In many examples the opening 'once more he speaks' can only be a formal literary device (e.g. *kephalaion* 68). T. Kell. Copt. 1 may provide evidence of the process by which *kephalaic* material rapidly multiplied to provide apostolic authorisation for the teachings of the community.

Alternatively, it could be argued that the Kellis text is a local production, developed for the purpose of evangelism, which uses material abstracted from a canonical or semi-canonical work.

In either case T. Kell. Copt. 1 may be described as a 'flip card', utilised for the easy learning of the complex details of Manichaean doctrine. The personal letters from Kellis evidence that the lay faithful regarded Manichaeism as a kind of superior Christianity; and the specifically Manichaean divinities such as the Third Ambassador rarely intrude. It would seem that in their evangelical mission the elect presented the faith as that of the true church, and as the fulfilment of Jesus' teaching. Catechumens would then be slowly drawn into the community and gradually introduced to the higher knowledge of Mani's revelation. This process is also apparent from Augustine's writings.

T. Kell. Copt. 1 provides important evidence about the evangelical technique of the Manichaean community. It also suggests the presence of elect at Kellis.

**Comment:** The text provides a summary of five  $\text{C}\chi\text{H}\Lambda\Delta$  of the Father of Greatness, the supreme God, which are reflected in the status and work of the Third Ambassador

(ΠΜΔΖΨΔΜΤ Ἀπρεσβεστῆς). This is the principal divinity of the third emanation, that of the gods of salvation. The Third Ambassador is well known from texts found across the Manichaean world. However, in devotion he often seems to have been eclipsed by other more personal saviour gods, such as Jesus the Splendour, who are essentially doublets of him.

Here the Ambassador is himself termed ‘father’ as a more accessible form (emanation) of the supreme Father. This is typical of Manichaean theology where epithets and functions easily transfer up and down the graded hierarchy of divinity. Essentially all the divine light is one, but graded according to the extent of its contact with time and matter. While the Father of Greatness is shielded from both in his eternal kingdom, the gods such as the Ambassador are evoked by him for the purpose of their necessary tasks in the conflict with the darkness.

3: The five properties of the Father (ΠΤΘΘ Ἰσχημα Ἀπῖωτ). The translation as ‘properties’ chosen for the term σχήματα is to indicate that the text lists five points of comparison that are really descriptive details or attributes rather than systematic essentials. Thus the Greek term is understood in its sense as ‘the way of a thing’ rather than its form or appearance.

This use of **ΣΧΗΜΑ** is not that which is normally found in the Medinet Madi corpus. P. van Lindt has undertaken a study of the edited texts: four out of the seven references make a direct link to the docetic Jesus<sup>46</sup>, evidencing an established exegetical tradition derived from Philippians 2:7. Van Lindt concludes that the term has a negative significance implying a ‘material shape’ and “an appearance opposite to reality<sup>47</sup>”.

This point is reinforced by one of the unedited psalms<sup>48</sup>:

I am ensnared ... in the **ΤΘΠΟC** and the **ΣΧΗΜΑ** of the earth.

However, there is one parallel usage to that in T. Kell. Copt. 1. *Keph.* 31,3 similarly lists five **ΣΧΗΜΑ** of the King of Darkness, such as his ugliness and bitterness. In the edited text **ΟΧΗΜΑ** is incorrectly given<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Van Lindt 1988. See also *PsBk I.* 180, second last line.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 101

<sup>48</sup> *PsBk I.* 189,19-20

<sup>49</sup> The correct reading has been provided from the original by W.-P. Funk, to whom I am grateful for having discussed this matter with me. See also Richter 1994: 235



**4:** An exalted one (ΟΥΠΕΤΖΔΑϞΕ). The term is also used for the Third Ambassador, see *Keph.* 134,5,11 135,29 (ΠΠΕΤΖΔΑϞΕ).

**6-7:** A king ... over his aeons (ΟΥΡΡΟ ΔΞ̄̄ ΝΕΦΔΙΩΝ). Just as the Father is the King of the aeons (Π̄ΡΡΟ ΝΗΔΙΩΝ *Keph.* 81,30), so the Ambassador is king in this world (ΠΡΡΟ ρΛ ΠΙΚΟϞΜΟϞ *Keph.* 43,31). According to *Keph.* 43,18-19 the Ambassador has become a leader and ‘a great king after the likeness of the first Father (ΟΥΝΔϞ Ν̄ΡΡΟ ΔΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΨΔΡΠ Ν̄ΩΤ)’.

**8-9:** His light is spread out over all his aeons (Π̄ϞΟΥΔ̄̄ΙΝΕ ΠΑΡΨ ΔΒΔΛ ΔΞ̄̄ ΝΕΦΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ). Ultimately all the divine is one; and the Father, who is the King of lights (ΠΡΡΟ Ν̄ΝΟΥΔ̄̄ΙΝΕ *Keph.* 35,8) and the origin of all lights (ΤΝΟΥΝΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΔ̄̄ΙΝΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ *Keph.* 35,3), is consubstantial with his kingdom.

**10:** A hidden one (ΟΥΠΕΤΡΗΠ). This is a characteristic term for the Father of Greatness who remains hidden in the eternal kingdom during the time of mixture, while the emanated gods enter in to time and the universe to battle the forces of darkness:

God, we pray thee, the Father, the first of the gods,  
the hidden one (ΠΕΤΡΗΠ), whose light is revealed, we call  
unto thee, hear us<sup>50</sup>.

At the end of time, after the final victory and destruction of the universe, he will reveal his image (T. Kell. Copt. 2 f.4,142-143 *Homs.* 41,11-17 *Keph.* 103,10-30).

In view of this it is unclear why the Third Ambassador is ‘hidden’; because the whole rationale for his being and title is to appear for the purpose of salvation<sup>51</sup>. Indeed, in a well-known episode, the Ambassador comes and ‘displays his image’ to the world, after which mankind is formed (e.g. *Keph.* 133,21-29).

**12 - 14:** Twelve virgins / twelve aeons (ΤΜ̄̄̄ΤϞΝΔϞϞ Μ̄̄̄ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟϞ / ΠΜ̄̄̄ΤϞΝΔϞϞ Ν̄ΔΙΩΝ). The Third Ambassador is essentially an androgynous divinity whose female form is the Virgin of Light. The male-female duality reflects such pairs as the sun-moon and nous-sophia. However, in a well attested variant, or perhaps better an elaboration, the Ambassador evokes twelve virgins. For instance:

<sup>50</sup> *PsBk* 2. 1,7-9, altered.

<sup>51</sup> W. Sundermann points out to me (IG) that the hidden nature of the Third Ambassador and his work was a problem also for the Central Asian Manichaeans; see his comments 1979: 105 - 106

The second day is the Third Ambassador, the one who dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] are [the] twelv[e v]irgins (ΤΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ) that he evoked in his greatness<sup>52</sup>.

Similarly, the twelve aeons of the Father are well known. They surround his throne in the Kingdom of Light; and from them come the aeons of the aeons to the number of one hundred and forty-four. Thus:

Now, [the k]ingdom of light was existing in fi[ve] greatneses; which are the Father and his twelve aeons (ΠΕΨΜῆΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ), and the aeons of the aeons, the living aer, the land of light; the Great Spirit breathing in them, nourishing them with its light<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> *Keph.* 25,20-22. See also Sundermann 1992: 107 - 108

<sup>53</sup> *PsBk* 2. 9,12-16, adapted.

**T. Kell. Copt. 2****Inv #** A/5/53B**Site:** House 3, room 4, level 3. Bound with T. Kell. Copt. 3.**Description:** Wooden codex with five folios, 194-7 x 68-71 x 3-6 mm. Made of recycled boards brought together from different contexts (note the different thicknesses), and cut to size. Initial description of T. Kell. Copt. 2 and 3 by John Sharpe 1991. Preliminary edition of the texts from folio 4, with discussion, by I. Gardner 1993.

Folios 1-3 and 5 (the order is established according to the holes drilled for binding) have been scrubbed clean, while folio 4 has well-preserved texts in black ink on both sides (*tête-bêche*). Why should only one, inner, folio contain readable text? It seems improbable that a scribe would have started on folio 4, even for reasons of secrecy; for what real advantage would this bring? Equally, it seems unlikely that they would have somehow forgotten to clean this particular board. Rather, it must be supposed that the codex has been constructed from pre-used boards, one of which was incorporated whilst still containing text. Thus the codex is not the original context for these psalms and prayer<sup>54</sup>. This also explains why folio 4 has been cut to size in such a way as to erase parts of the topmost letters of text A5; and why the holes have been drilled through the text. However, it would be unwarranted necessarily to suppose that Manichaean devotion was no longer a live issue for the constructor of the codex.

As with T. Kell. Copt. 3, and for the same reasons (see *infra*), no attempt is made here to provide a text edition of the cleaned boards.

**Folio 1.** Clear traces of text. Large script as with parts of T. Kell. Copt. 3.**Folio 2.** Clear traces. Appears to be of a different origin to folio 1.**Folio 3.** Minimal traces.

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<sup>54</sup> The title I used in my preliminary edition of this piece (Gardner 1993: 'A Manichaean liturgical codex ..') may be counted as misleading. We do not know what was the original context for folio 4. Indeed, the reversed sequence of script (*tête-bêche* also T.C. 6) indicates that it could not have been bound down the side margin at that period of usage; but must rather have been 'flipped' over from the top for the verso to be read. W. Sundermann reminds me of a similar situation with the Central Asian Pothi-leaf books.



**Folio 5.** Side a: some text visible. Side b: useless (outside of codex?)

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**Folio 4.** Well preserved texts. Originally part of another codex (note the holes drilled that the scribe has avoided), and now bound here (note the secondary drilling through the text).

**Dialect:** To be classified as *L*, but with some notable features. Most apparent is the conjugation base  $\varrho\alpha$ - for the Perfect Affirmative. This brings into question the use of a Second Present base vowel  $\alpha$ - for  $\epsilon$ -<sup>55</sup>. Secondly, there is the irregular use of the prepositional  $\epsilon$ -  $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ = (elsewhere and *L4*  $\alpha$ -  $\alpha\rho\alpha$ =). And thirdly, there is a non-standardised vowel shift  $\alpha$  /  $\epsilon$  also apparent in many other Kellis texts compared to Medinet Madi, here:  $\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau$  (40)  $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$  (46 but see 32)  $\epsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha$  (133<sup>56</sup>).

**Content:** Liturgical. Six (?) Manichaean psalms and an eschatological prayer in two hands (texts A and B), with additional unidentified comment in a third (?) hand (text C). The psalms are abbreviated in that only the beginning of each strophe is given<sup>57</sup>.

**Purpose:** Liturgical (perhaps for 'live' congregational usage) or scribal<sup>58</sup>.

**Authorship:** Unknown. Various?

#### Text A 1

a1	<sup>59</sup> Ⲛⲥ ⲧⲏⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ	Jesus, we praise thee!
2	ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲗⲟ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ	Let us plant with love
3	ⲏⲧⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲩⲗⲭⲒ	Thou art the depth
4	ⲉⲗⲏⲗⲓ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲏⲁ	We took taste of the Spirit
5	ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲉ(	Let us bind to (...)
6	ⲧⲱⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏⲅⲓⲛⲉ	Knock that you may find
7	ⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲏⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏⲅⲓⲛⲉ	Ask that you may find

<sup>55</sup> See particularly the usage of tenses in the text A5. In fact all  $\alpha$ - bases have been translated as (at least poetic!) pasts corresponding to *L4*, pending a detailed analysis of the dialects in the texts from Kellis.

<sup>56</sup> This strong final  $\alpha$  is also a feature of other Kellis texts.

<sup>57</sup> Similarly in Central Asian anthologies; e.g. M 315 in Colditz 1992: 330 - 333

<sup>58</sup> The coarse quality of hand B argues against this.

<sup>59</sup> Design at start of the line.

8	ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	The love of God
9	ΜΑΡΝ̄ΜΟΥΟΥΤ̄ Ν̄(	Let us slay ( ...
10	(vac) Ν̄ΤΑΟΥΤΑΟΥΜ̄ΤΗΝΕ	They did summons you
11	ΨΟΥΨΟΥ Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν̄	Pride yourselves
12	ΠΣΕΔΕ Μ̄ΠΩΝΟΥ	The word of life
13	ΝΕΝΤΑΟΥΔΙ Μ̄ΠΩΝΟΥ	They that received life
14	Ν̄Ρ̄ΠΗΟΥΕ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΨΕΙΟΥ\ΟΥ/Ε	The temples and the altars
15	Ν̄Ψ̄Μ̄ΜΔΕΙ Δ̄ΠΚ[ΟΥ]Μ̄ΟΥ[ΟΥ]⁶⁰	The strangers to the world
16	(vac) ΝΕΝΤΑΟΥΧ̄Ι⁶¹ Μ̄(	They that received ( ...
17	Μ̄ΠΟΥΔΙ Ψ̄ΠΕ	They took not taste <sup>62</sup>
18	ΜΑΡΝ̄ΣΩΟΥΟΥ ΟῩΝ̄ΜΑ ΟῩΝ̄⁶³	Let us gather ...
19	ΠΣΡ̄Σ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΣΝΑΟΥΟΥ	The cross and the fetters
20	ΟῩΑΟΥΡ̄ΑΠΟΥΤΑΣΣΕ Μ̄(	They renounced ( ...
21	Θ̄Β̄Β̄ΙΟΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩΝ	Humiliate the demons
22	ΟῩΟΥΔΑΝΟΥ ΕΒΔΑ Ν̄ΔΙ Μ̄⁶⁴(	He is revealed, namely ( ...
23	ΟῩΑΤ̄Ν̄Ψ̄ Δ̄ΔΩΤ̄Ν̄ Μ̄(	You put upon you ( ...
24	ΟῩΟΥΚΩΜΨ̄ Ν̄ΔΙ Ν̄Ι(	They sneer, namely these ( ...
25	Δ̄ΟῩΡ̄ΑΝΑΧΟΥΡΙ Δ̄ΠΟΥΔ(ΕΙΝΕ)	He went back to the lig(ht)
26	ΟῩΕΑΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΕΡΟΥ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄(	Glory and victory to our ( ...

## Text A 2

27	ΜΑΡΝ̄ΣΜΟΥ Δ̄Π̄Ν̄Χ̄Τ̄	Let us praise our Christ!
28	ΠΡΩΜΕ ΟῩΑΡΗΟΥ Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄(	Man, be on guard! Do not ( ...
29	ΟῩΨ̄ΙΧ̄ΟΥΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΚΕ(ΚΕ)	Depth of the dark(ness)
30	ΠΔΠΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΟΥ Μ̄ΠΚΕ(ΚΕ)	But the creature of the dark(ness)
31	ΟῩΔΑΙΜΩΝ Ν̄ΟῩΔΟΥ Ν̄(ΟῩΟΥ)	A many-(faced) demon
32	ΠΟῩΩ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΤΕΚΟΥ	The work of perdition
33	ΠΚΟΥ ΠΜΕΣΤΕ	The envy, the hatred
34	ΟῩΔΟΥΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΔΙ ῙΝ̄Σ	He likened himself <sup>65</sup> , namely Jesus
35	ΠΧ̄Τ̄ ΠΙΕΒΔΑ ΟῩΜ̄	Christ, this one from
36	ΟῩΟΥΤ̄Μ̄ ΟῩΟΥ ΕΠΑΟΥΛΟΥ\ΟΥ/	Listen also to Paul
37	ΠΡΕΟΥΤΑΨ̄ΕΔΕΙΨ̄	The proclaimer

<sup>60</sup> Δ̄ΠΚ[ΟΥ]Μ̄ΟΥ[ΟΥ] writ small. Perhaps an addition.

<sup>61</sup> Χ̄Ι for Δ̄Ι

<sup>62</sup> Perhaps '... of death'.

<sup>63</sup> Meaning unclear; perhaps ΜΔ (place).

<sup>64</sup> Possibly ΜΔ

<sup>65</sup> Or 'he brought'.

38	βωλ(ε) εβαλ ἡἡμῖ	Release the chains
39	πψι ετεραψι ἡ	The measure that thou wilt measure ( ...
40	πμα ηψαλετ ἡ(πḫ̄̄)	The bridechamber of (Christ)
41	πψηη ἡταψ ἡ(πωη)	But the tree of (life)
42	ϑαστε προς οσκοσει	Trouble thyself for a little [time (?)
43	ϑωκ ἡμο ἡταμαρε	Brace thee, and I shall bind thee
44	καλωσ εϑαψῖψαρπ	Right well, as he was first
45	ἡτο ϑωε τψσχη	Thou also, soul
46	ἡκε ηημ σοσνατα(κο)	Everything they will des(troy)
47	οσμοσ οσαρχη	A blessing, a beginning
48	πḫ̄̄ νατοσσο μμο	Christ will save thee
49	ἡρημνοσε ἡἡαρ(	The waves of the ( ...
50	τψσχη κασε εραρα <sup>66</sup> (	Soul, that thou might (guard (?)
51	ω πεασ ηεκ πḫ̄̄	O! The glory to thee, our Christ
52	οσεασ ἡἡ σρο ἡπἡ(	Glory and victory to our ( ...

(second column)

**Text A 3**

53	ταψσχη . . πἡα <sup>67</sup>	My soul ...
54	πνοση ϑομερ <sup>68</sup>	The abyss ...
55	πκαλοημ[ . . ] <sup>69</sup> ἡ	The ...
56	ϑἰσε ἡ[ . . ] τα	Exalt ...
57	† ἡπενοσ	Give to thy mind
58	αψ† μμαψ	He gave him
59	τασρο ϑἡ πε(	Be confirmed in thy ( ...
60	κατε ϑἡ τεσβω	Edify thee in thy doctrine
61	σαβτῆ ἡηετηϑ	Prepare thy wings
62	σαστἡ ἡτεοσ(ηεμ	Straighten thy ri(ght hand (?)
63	καθαριζε ἡμο	Cleanse thee
64	ἡπῖκωε ἡ(	Do not let ( ...
65	τοσβο ἡμο †	Make thee pure, give
66	ψωπε σε τα(	Now, my ( ... ), become
67	ψι αϑρηκῖ> ϑα<ρα>η ἡ	Bear up under us

<sup>66</sup> Perhaps ραεις 'guard'.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps πἡαβαλ for 'this one from the father'.<sup>68</sup> Meaning unclear. Perhaps two more letters.<sup>69</sup> Meaning unclear.



68	ΠC† ΓΕΛΕΙΕΛ <sup>70</sup> Μ(	The brightness ( ...
69	ΤΟΤΒΟ ΝΤΓΔΜ	Make pure the power
70	ΤΣΔΕΙΟ ΜΠCΔΕΙ	Make beautiful the beauty
71	CΑΒΤΕ ΜΜΟ ρ̄Ν	Prepare thee in
72	ΠΝΔΕ Μ̄Ν ΠΝΔ <sup>(71)</sup>	The charity and the ( ...
73	ΤΑΝΑΒΩΨ Μ(	So we will strip ( ...
74	ΤΑΝΑΨΕ ρ̄Ν ΟC(	So we will leave in a ( ...
75	ϣΟ ΝΕΔΘ ϣΔΙ Ε(ΔΘ) <sup>72</sup>	He is glorious! He is gl(orified)

## Text A 4

76	<sup>73</sup> ΡΔΕΙC ΤΑΨCΧΗ	Watch, my soul
77	ΠΡΕCΒΕCΤΗC	Ambassador
78	ΔϣΘΩΛΠ ΝΕ	He revealed to thee
79	CΑCΝΕ ΤΑΨC(ΧΗ)	Know, my so(ul)
80	ΝΑΡΤΕ ΕΡΑϣ ΔΕ	Believe in him, for
81	ΤΩΚ ΔΡΕΤΕ ΝΤΑ(	Set thee firm, and I shall ( ...
82	ΠΕCΡΟ ΠΕΚΛΔΜ	Thy victory, thy crown
83	ΡΕΨΕ ΤΑΨCΧΗ	Rejoice, my soul
84	ΟCΠΕΤΑΝΙΤ	A good one <sup>74</sup>
85	ΤΔΕΙΟ ΜΠΟCΕΙ(ΝΕ)	Honour the lig(ht) (?)
86	ΤΓΡΗΠΕ ΜΠΟC(ΔΕΙΝΕ) <sup>75</sup>	The diadem of the li(ght)
87	ΟCΩΨΤ ΝΕϣ	Worship him
88	ΠΕΤΑϣΤΡΟCΔ(ΕΙΝΕ)	He whom he has enli(ghtened) <sup>76</sup>
89	ΟCΡΕϣΕΡΟ ΠΕ	A victor is
90	ΠΕΔΘ ΝΕΙΕΤϣ	Glory! Blessed is he
91	ϒΑϣCΩΡ ϒΑϣΜΟC	He was stretched (out), he died
92	ΟCΨΒΒΙΩ [Ν]ΤΕ Ν(	A requital of ( ...
93	ΘΗΚΩΝ ΕΤΝΔ(	The image that ( ...
94	ΔΙΤϣ ΕΡΟ ΝΤΑ(	Attain thee it, and I shall ( ...
95	† ϒΙΩΤΕ ΜΠΕ(	Vest thyself with thy ( ...

<sup>70</sup> See Crum 77a

<sup>71</sup> Perhaps ΝΔ(ϒΤΕ 'faith'.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. *PsBk I.* 184,21? ΚΟ ΝΕΔΘ ΚΔΙ ΕΔΘ

<sup>73</sup> Perhaps Δϒ before the line. Significance unclear.

<sup>74</sup> Or 'Good (is ..'

<sup>75</sup> Thus *PsBk I.* 240,30? and *PsBk 2.* 22,18

<sup>76</sup> Or: 'He who enlightened'. Alternatively Funk suggests: 'He who made them (do something)'.

96	π̄ρ̄ο ετδασε	The exalted king (?)
97	ποσ(δεινε) ρεψε ᾠμακ	The li(ght) rejoices at <sup>77</sup> thee
98	οσεασ μ̄η βρο	Glory and victory

Text B 1<sup>78</sup>:

(first column)

99	†ηαμοσζη <sup>79</sup>	I will ...
100	_____	...

(second column)

101	τη _____	We ...
102	π _____	...
103	ῆ _____	...
104	π _____	...
105	_____	...
106	_____	...
107	_____	...
108	_____	...

## Text A 5

b109	δεῖ <sup>80</sup> νετωβρ μπμαρψαμτ
110	ᾠπρεσβεστης /// αϥτῆνασ
111	ψαραι ηῆς π̄ρειε πα
112	ποστολος ᾠποσδεινε ρεϥ
113	σωτε ῆῆψσχαοσε αϥ[ . ] . τ
114	ατοτϥ ᾠπνοσς ῆοσδεινε
115	τπαρθενος ᾠποσδεινε //
116	<π>ῆῆᾗ ῆτε τμηε πῆδαιε
117	πμανιχαῖος αϥ† ηνεῖ ᾠ
118	πεϥσασνε αϥταδραι ρᾠ πεϥ
119	ναρτε αϥδωκ ᾠμαι ρῆ νεϥ

<sup>77</sup> However, in Coptic to rejoice *at* is usually negative; i.e. ‘deride’ (Alcock).

<sup>78</sup> Lines 99-108 mostly scrubbed away, with only traces visible. Thus —

<sup>79</sup> μοσ ‘die’ or μοσζ ‘fill’. Possibly ζη (unlikely).

<sup>80</sup> The board has been cut to size, with the erasure of the top parts of these first three letters. Second letter ε or ϥ and third ι or † or ρ. The various options are problematic. The stylised δ suggests that this is the start of a clause, i.e. one can not read [οσ]δεινε τωβρ. Therefore, it must begin with a verbal prefix. Read either ‘she gave thy prayers (αϥ† νετωβρ)’; but who is the subject? Or ‘I will pray (δεινετωβρ)’, necessitating some dialectical (second future δῖναδ?) form.

120 ΕΝΤΟΛΑΘΕ /// Δ ΘΙΚΩΝ ΜΠ[[ΔΣΑ]]  
 121 ΕΙΨ ΕΙ ΨΑΡΔΕΙ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΨΑΜΤ Ν  
 122 ΔΥΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΣ† ΝΗΪ [[ΝΤΩ]]ΒΩ ΜΝ  
 123 ΠΚΛΑΜ ΜΝ ΠΒΔΕ ΜΝ ΠΓΡΟ [[//]]  
 124 ΔΥΔΙΤ ΔΡΕΤΥ ΜΠΕ<sup>81</sup>ΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΔΔΝ  
 125 ΛΑΘΘΕ ΝΨΠΕ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΑΥΤΕΕΥ  
 126 ΔΤΟΟΤ ΔΕΙΔΩΚ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΔΛ ///  
 127 ΔΕΙΔΩΚΜ ΨΝ ΠΣΤΘΛΟΣ ΔΘΔΑΚΤ  
 128 ΨΜ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΔΗΚ ΕΒΔΛ ΔΘ†  
 129 ΝΗ<Ϊ> ΜΠΑΨΑΡΠ ΝΝΟΘΣ ΨΜ ΠΑΗΡ  
 130 ΕΤΑΝΩ /// ΔΕΙΤΑΕΙΛΕ ΔΠΔΔΕΙ Μ  
 131 ΠΜΑΘΘ ΕΤΑΝΩ ΨΑ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΨΑΡΠ  
 132 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΥ† ΝΗΪ ΝΤΥΩΗΚΩΝ  
 133 ΠΥΣΜΑΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΑΓΑΠΗ // ΔΕΙΤΑ  
 134 ΕΙΛΕ ΔΠΔΔΕΙ ΝΤΣΕΤΕ ΕΤΑΝΩ  
 135 ΨΑ ΠΜΑΨΑΜΤ ΜΠΡΕΣΒΕΣΤΗΣ  
 136 ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΜΠΟΘΔΕΙΝΕ ΠΙΩΤ  
 137 ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ /// ΨΑΨΔΙ ΝΕΙΟΡΕ ΜΜΔΕΙ  
 138 ΔΡΗΪ ΔΤΧΩΡΑ ΜΠΟΘΔΕΙΝΕ Δ  
 139 ΡΕΤΥ ΜΠΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΜΝ ΠΜΕ  
 140 ΡΙΤ ΝΝΟΘΔΕΙΝΕ /// ΨΔΕΙΜΤΑΝ  
 141 ΜΜΔΕΙ ΨΝ ΤΜΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΕΕΙ<sup>82</sup> ΔΕ  
 142 ΨΑ ΠΙΩΤ ΝΝΟΘΔΕΙΝΕ ΟΘΩΝΩ  
 143 ΝΗΪ ΕΒΔΛ ΝΤΕΥΩΗΚΩΝ ///

b109 (I will?) pray to the Third  
 110 Ambassador. He sent  
 111 unto me Jesus the Splendour, the  
 112 apostle of light, the  
 113 redeemer of souls. He [bore (?)] me  
 114 to the Light Mind,  
 115 the Virgin of Light.  
 116 The spirit of truth, our lord  
 117 Manichaios, he gave to me  
 118 his knowledge. He made me strong in his

<sup>81</sup> Ε perhaps struck out.

<sup>82</sup> See *Keph.* 39,11 ΤΜΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΗΪ ΝΝΕΥΡΩΜΕ Alternatively, one could read it as 'this one (ΠΕΕΙ)'; with perhaps the ἀρχιδίκαιος intended as ruler of the new aeon (Alcock).



119 faith. He has fulfilled me in his  
 120 commandments. The image of my  
 121 counterpart came unto me, with her three  
 122 angels. She gave to me the garment and  
 123 the crown and the palm and the victory.  
 124 He took me to the judge without  
 125 any shame; for what he  
 126 entrusted to me I have perfected.  
 127 I washed in the Pillar. I was perfected  
 128 in the Perfect Man. They gave  
 129 me my first mind in the living  
 130 atmosphere. I rose up to the ship of  
 131 living water; unto the father, the First  
 132 Man. He gave me his image,  
 133 his blessing, and his love. I  
 134 rose up to the ship of living fire;  
 135 unto the Third Ambassador,  
 136 the apostle of light, the good  
 137 father. They ferried me  
 138 up to the land of light, to  
 139 the first righteous one and the  
 140 Beloved of the Lights. I came to rest  
 141 in the kingdom of the household (?); for  
 142 the Father of the Lights has revealed  
 143 to me his image.

**Text B 2**

144	ΤΝCΜΟϚ	We praise
145	ϷΔΚΤΔΕΙ(Ο)	Thou honoured
146	ΤΝΨΔΤ Μ̄ΜΔ(	We lack ( ...
147	ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ϷΙ	Thy father in
148	ΝΙΜ ΠΝΙΨΤ	Who (is) our father
149	CΕΡΕΨΕ	They rejoice
150	ΜϚCΤΗΡΙ(ΟΝ)	Myster(y)
151	ΠΟϚΔΕΙΝΕ	The light
152	ϷΔΚϚΩΚ ΔΒΔΛ	Thou perfected
153	ΤΝΨΩΠ Μ̄Π(	We accept the ( ...
154	ΟϚΝΔ [[̄̄]]ρμεοϚε	A mercy for (our) tears (?)

(second column)

155	ΝΕΚΨΗΡΕ ΤΗ(ΡΟΨ)	A(l)l thy children
156	ΤΗ† ΕΤΟΤΚ	We entrust to thee
157	ΤΗΡΕΨΕ ΤΗΡῆ	We all rejoice
158	ΜΠῚΜΕΟΨΕ	Do not think
159	ΨΗ ϚΤΗΚ Δ(	Have thou pity ( ...
160	† ΝΕΝ ῆΟΨΓ(ΡΟ)	Give to us v(ictory)
161	ΟΨΕΔΨ Μῆ	Glory and

(lateral)

**Text C 1**

162 ΨΔΝ . . . . ΔΝΕΝ . [ ...<sup>83</sup>

**Format:**

Side a: four abbreviated psalms written in two columns by one hand, (= A 1-4). At the end of each column there are scrawled, in a much coarser hand, a further few lines of text (= B 1). These have been mostly scrubbed away, so that the content is unclear, but they may be a further psalm. This unusual format needs to be explained.

First, the texts are abbreviated in the sense that the beginning of a line is given; but it then breaks off, sometimes mid-word. A new line begins again, with no continuity to the last. These constant breaks can cause problems for the translator, although the Coptic of scribe A is easily read. The style and effect is somewhat similar to the psalm index published by Allberry from the end of the Chester Beatty codex (pp. 229-233 in his edition).

Secondly, scribe A has written in two long columns. However, a break in the first is indicated by a design, in the second by a rough stroke. The resulting four sections are mostly equal in length: A 1 contains 26 lines (a1-26); A 2 has 26 lines (27-52); A 3 has 23 lines (53-75); A 4 has 23 lines (76-98).

The discrete nature of each of these four sections, and their identification as four Manichaean psalms, is most immediately apparent from their final lines. For three of the sections the final line begins: ΟΨΕΔΨ Μῆ ΓΡΟ ‘Glory and victory ..’; and the other: ΨΟ ῆΕΔΨ ‘He is glorious ..’. These are standard formulations for the closing verse, the doxology, of the psalms published by Allberry. For example:

<sup>83</sup> Possibly the fourth letter is Ç and (with imagination!) one could read: ‘We shall praise ..’ or ‘We shall gather to our ..’

Glory and victory to the Spirit of Truth, our God, our  
 Lord Mani, and all his holy perfect  
 Elect, and the soul of the blessed Mary<sup>84</sup>.

Thus, in comparison to Allberry's psalm-index, this text is a 'list' of verses. Each line corresponds to the beginning of a verse, perhaps equal to the indented sections in the Medinet Madi edition of the *Psalm-Book*. However, in contrast to that fine copy, the text here was probably for 'live' congregational usage. The beginning of each verse or refrain is provided to aid the memory.

The psalms A 1-4 do not correspond to any published by Allberry, although they share a great deal of the terminology and style. However, Allberry only published the second half of the Chester Beatty text. In the index to the whole work, which he did edit, are also given the incipits from the first part.

The index is not complete, but nevertheless the incipit given in the index for psalm 57 (ΝΖ) is essentially the same as the first line of psalm A 4: ραῖς ταψυδχη ντε. Unfortunately, an examination of the facsimile edition of part one of the *Psalm-Book*, published by S. Giversen, shows the 'line-starts' of psalm 57 to be almost completely destroyed<sup>85</sup>. Indeed, it is not clear either where the psalm begins or finishes.

However, a first search (IG) of the whole facsimile has identified another of the psalms here in the Chester Beatty codex: A 2 corresponds to psalm 68 on plates 97 and 98. It seems highly probable that some or all of the other psalms also lie hidden in part one. Whether they can be firmly identified is another question. The search for identification is difficult; and such is the poor state of a great many of the Medinet Madi pages, that this matter may not be resolved until there is a full critical edition of part one of the Chester Beatty text.

Side b: here scribe A has written in a single column of 35 lines, and with more care, a description of the eschatological journey undertaken by the individual Manichaean soul (= A 5). This is replete with terminology familiar from the Medinet Madi texts. As will be evident, it has a much more personal tone than the psalms, which are communal. Its presence here may indicate that it is a liturgical prayer to reinforce the faith in the face of death.

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<sup>84</sup> *PsBk* 2. 3,12-14

<sup>85</sup> In the facs. ed. Giversen notes the beginning of psalm 56 on plate 74, another (58?) on pl. 81, and 59 on pl. 83. If this is correct then psalm 57 should be found near plate 77



Below this again, and in two columns, the coarser hand has written another abbreviated psalm (= B 2). Some words are also visible along the edge of the text (= C 1).

**Comment:**

**Text A 1:**

Communal psalm in praise of Jesus. The tone and terminology are reminiscent of the *Medinet Madi Psalm-Book*. For instance: Jesus as ‘the depth (a3)’, see *PsBk 2. 120,13* (ⲱⲓⲭⲉⲛ̅). It also includes similar echoes of the sayings of Jesus (6-7):

They that sought found; they prayed, [it was] given them; they knocked at the door, the door was opened to them<sup>86</sup>.

The invocation of ‘the cross and the fetters (19)’ is an allusion to the double martyrdom at the heart of Manichaean devotion: Jesus’ crucifixion, and Mani’s death chained in prison.

The doxology (26) doubtless read: ‘Glory and victory to our lord Mani (*PsBk 2. 11,29* etc.)’.

**Text A 2:**

Communal psalm in praise of Christ. The formulation ‘our Christ ⲡⲛ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅’ (27 / 51) seems slightly strange, though ‘our Lord ⲡⲛ̅ⲗ̅ⲥ̅’ is very common. One might be inclined to take it as an error (ⲭ for ⲗ as at 16), or even code for ⲡⲙⲛ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ except that it occurs in Allberry’s index as ⲡⲛ̅ⲭ̅ⲡ̅ⲥ̅ (*PsBk 2. 229,12b*).

The psalm begins with a strongly dualistic tone, invokes the soul, and looks forward to the glory of salvation through Christ. The reference to Paul (36) reinforces the strong Pauline emphasis to Manichaean theology. A copy of Romans 2 was also been found in House 3 at Kellis, although whether it was used by the Manichaean inhabitants is open to debate (see P. Kell. Copt. 6 *infra*). The doxology (52) follows the same pattern as the previous text.

It has already been stated that this is demonstrably the same psalm as number 68 in the *Medinet Madi PsBk 1*. Giversen counts the beginning of psalm 68 to line 8 on plate 97 of the facsimile edition. Here some kind of titular ascription is clearly visible, within a design, on the right hand side. The psalm number ⲘⲎ is not directly readable; but Giversen is undoubtedly correct following the much clearer 67 (Ⲙⲗ) on plate 95.

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<sup>86</sup> *PsBk 2. 156,3- 4*; see Mt. 7:7

The incipit for this psalm in the index published by Allberry (*PsBk* 2. 230.7a . . . [ . ] **ΜΟΥ ΔΠΝ**) also corresponds directly to that in T. Kell. Copt. 2 (27 **ΜΑΡΝ̄ΣΜΟΥ ΔΠΝ̄Χ̄Σ**); although the first line of 68 can not be read with confidence in the facsimile.

Such is the condition of the Medinet Madi text that its correspondence to the Kellis version first becomes clear on the eighth line of the psalm (*PsBk* 1. 97,16), equating to the fourth line of A 2 (30). This fits exactly the pattern that subsequently becomes established, where the Kellis text provides the first words of every second or third line of psalm 68. When there are three lines the final one seems to be foreshortened, indicating that the text has run over the line length at the ending of a verse. Thus the rule seems to be that the Kellis text provides the beginning of every second complete line; the psalm as a whole being broken up into regular units, possibly for antiphonal singing.

This pattern can be traced as far as the fifth last line visible on plate 98, equating to line 46. The pattern requires at least three lines to be lost at the top of plate 98; which makes the page total a reasonable 32 lines.

Giversen suggests that at the third last line psalm 69 begins. Here there appears at first to be a gap in the text; but there is no psalm number or other evidence to support this. Also, six lines of the Kellis text remain, suggesting that psalm 68 should continue for about twelve more lines. In fact, if the facsimile is tracked down to the tenth and eleventh visible lines of plate 99, the characteristic doxology becomes apparent: ‘... victory to the soul of Pshai, Jm[noute ...] Maria’. Here then must be the end of psalm 68. However, given the condition of plate 99, where the first half of each line is entirely lost in the upper part, the exact correspondence of the lines can only be speculative.

Nevertheless, the available evidence is enough to show that the Kellis psalm A 2 runs parallel to 68, and at a constant rate throughout. The probable line correspondence is as follows.

97:(x+) <sup>8</sup>	[ΖΗ	ΔΙΝΕ ΠΕΤΟ . .
	68	...
Incipit	. . . [ . ]	ΜΟΥ ΔΠΝ̄
a27		ΜΑΡΝ̄ΣΜΟΥ ΔΠΝ̄Χ̄Σ
97:9	[ . . . ] .	ΣΜΟΥ ΔΠΝ̄Χ̄[Ρ̄Σ] ΠΙΜΟΝΟΥΕΝΗΣ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄ . [
97:8	. . . . . ]	Ε ΠΙΡΕΥΣΩΤΕ Ν̄ΜΨ̄Θ[Χ̄Δ]Θ̄Ε
		Let us praise our Christ, this only-begotten son, and we [ ...
		] the saviour of souls!

28                **πρωμε ραρηρ ἄπῤ**  
 97:11            . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ρη πσω[μα  
 97:12            . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ψυ]χη αερ[η]η] ανρασψ [   
 Man, be on guard! Do not [...] in the body [   
                   ... ] soul up to the cares (?) [

29                **οσψιχρψ ἄτε πκε[κε**  
 97:13            ] . [ . . ] . . πκεκε η[ε] πσωμα ετῤῥφορε [μμαϷ  
 97:14            ] . . . [ . ] . . [ . ] ηδικαιος τηροσ ασψωπ ἄπκ . . [   
 97:15            **α]τ]λωσσ ηρητῤ**                    (vac)  
 A depth of darkness is this body that thou wear  
                   ... ] all the righteous, they have suffered [ ...  
 they have] been oppressed in it.

30                **πδπο ἄταϷ ἄπκε[κε**  
 97:16            **πδ<π>ο ητε πκεκε πε πιηῖ ετμηρ ἄπαθο[Ϸ**  
 97:17            ]Ϸ[ . ] . [ . . . ] οσπ ηηῖατο ησαρϷ ηθηνριον ετ[   
 The creature of darkness is this house that is full of passion [   
                   ... ] these masses of flesh, these beasts that [ ... ]

31                **οσδαμων ἄραρ ἄ[ρ]ο**  
 97:18            ] . . . [ . . ] . η ηραρ ἄρ[ο] πε' οσδρακων ησαψϷ [ἄαπε  
 97:19            **οσρα[ρ] ἄεῖνε οσραρ ἄπετρασ πε οσμαν . [**  
 97:20            **ἄ . . . . .**                                    (vac)  
 It is a many-faced demon: a seven-[headed] dragon.  
 It is many likenesses, many wickednesses, a place [ ...  
 ...

32                **πρωβ ἄτε πτεκο**  
 97:21            **πρωβ ἄτε ητεκο τε τρβσω ἄτε πκ[εκε ετῤῥφο**  
 97:22            **ρε ἄ . . . . .** ασμοσρ μῤ οσωτ . α [   
 The work of perdition is the garment of [darkness that we wear  
                   ... ] they bound with (?) [ ... ]

33                **πκωρ πμεστε**  
 97:23            [ . . . . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ] †τ]ων . . ασ[   
 97:24            . . . . . ] . . [ . ] . . [ . ] . . . . . ητμητδασε [ . . . ]Ϸ . .  
 97:25            (vac)    αβαρ ἄρητϷ



The envy, the hatred [ ... ] dispute [ ...  
 ... ] the enmity [ ...  
 from there.

34 ραφεινε ν̄χι ῑη̄ς

98:1 [

98:2 ] . [

He likened himself, namely Jesus [ ...  
 ...

35 π̄χ̄τ̄ πιεβδαλ ρ̄μ̄

98:3 ] . [

98:4 ] ῑ τε [

Christ, this one from [ ...  
 ...

36 ϛωτμ ρωφ επασλος

98:5 ϛωτ]με ρωφ απασλο[ς . . ] . [

98:6 ] δε τμ̄η̄τ̄ς̄ᾱβε̄ ν̄η̄ς̄αρ̄ζ̄ ο̄σ̄μ̄η̄τ̄ς̄ε̄[σε̄ πε

Listen also to Paul [ ...  
 ] that the wisdom of this flesh is foolishness<sup>87</sup> [

37 πρεγταψεδειψ

98:7 [π]ρεγταψεδειψ μ̄πωνρ̄ ετβ̄η̄τε . [

98:8 ] πᾱψ̄ε̄ῑτε̄ ν̄η̄ς̄εν̄το̄λᾱσε̄ ᾱφ̄[ . . . ] . [

The proclaimer of life, because [ ...  
 ] the multitude of his commandments; he has [ ... ]

38 β̄ω̄λε̄ ε̄β̄δᾱλ̄ ν̄η̄μ̄ρ̄ε̄

98:9 [β̄ω]λ̄ ᾱβ̄δᾱλ̄ ν̄η̄μ̄ρ̄ε̄ μ̄η̄ . . [ . . . ] . . . [

98:10 [ . . ]ε̄μ̄μ̄ . ν̄η̄ρ̄μ̄ρ̄η̄ . τ̄ . [ . . . . . ] . . . . [

Release the chains [ ...  
 ...

39 π̄ψ̄ῑ ε̄τε̄ρᾱψ̄ῑ μ̄

98:11 [ . . . ] ε̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄ᾱψ̄ῑ μ̄μ̄ . . . [ . ]ε̄[ . . . . . ] . . . [

98:12 ] . . . . π̄ . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . [

<sup>87</sup> I Cor. 3:19

The measure that thou wilt measure [ ...

...

40 ΠΜΔ ΝΨΔΛΕΤ Μ̄

98:13 Π[ . ] . ΝΨΕΛΕΤ ΜΠΕΧΡ̄ς ΕΨ . . . . . [

98:14 ]ϚΕΛΗΓ ΔΠΕΨΣΕΞΕ Ν̄ϚΡΗΪ [ϚΝ] ΟΣ[Ϛ]Ρ̄Τ[Ε

The bridechamber of Christ [ ...

... ] await his word in fear (?)

41 ΠΨΗΗ Ν̄ΤΑΨ Μ̄

98:15 ΠΨΗΗ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΩΗϚ ΠΕ ΠϚΑΨΗΕ Μ̄Π[Π]Κ̄Λ[Σ] ΝΕ[Ψ

98:16 . . ϚΝ̄ ΔΒΔΛ Μ̄ΠΡΕΨΕ ΝΕ ΗΕΨΚΑΡΠΟΣ ϚΝ̄ Δ[ΒΔ]Λ [Μ̄

98:17 ΠΟΨ]ΔΪΝΕ (vac)

The tree of life is the knowledge of the Paraclete, its [

... ] from joy are its fruits from

the light.

42 ϚΔΣΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΨΚΟΨΕΙ

98:18 ] ΠΡΟΨ ΟΨΚ[Ο]ΨΪ Ν̄ΤΕ . . . . [ . . . ] ΣΟΨΨ[ΟΨ] . [

98:19 ] . . . . . [ . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [

Trouble thyself for a little [time, a moment (?) ...

...

43 ϚΩΚ Μ̄ΜΟ Ν̄ΤΑΜΑΡΕ

98:20 ] . . Ν̄ . . Μ . ϐ . . . . . [ . ] . . . [ . . ] . [

98:21 ] . [ . ] . . . . Ϛ ΔΨϚΨΟΜΟΝΗ [ . ] . . . . . [ . . ] . [

Brace thee, and I shall bind thee [ ...

] endurance [ ... ]

44 ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕϚΔΨΡ̄ΨΑΡΠ

98:22 ]ΨΡ̄ΨΑΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΔΟΟΣ Ν̄ΔΙ Π̄ΣΩΤΗΡ ΕΨ[ . ] . . [

98:23 . . ΜΠ]ΩΡΔΠΟ ΕϚΟ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ϚΙΔ̄Ν ΠΚΑϚ ΠΜΔ Ν̄ΤϚΔ

98:24 ΛΕ Μ̄Ν Ν̄]ΡΕΨΔΪΘΨΕ (vac)

Right well, as the saviou[r] said first, he [ ...

do not acquire treasure for yourselves upon the earth, the place of the moth and thieves<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Mt. 6:19

45 **Ν̄ΤΟ ρωε τψσχη**  
 98:25 ] . . . . . η̄ησ̄ αβ̄αλ̄ νε̄με[ . ] . . .  
 98:26 ] . . τσαρ̄ζ̄ ο̄σ̄τε̄ η̄τᾱς̄ . . . . . [ . ] . .

Thou also, soul [ ... ] is come from [ ...  
 ] the flesh, nor did it [ ... ]

46 **Ν̄ΚΕ ΝΙΜ̄ ΣΟ̄Τ̄ΝΑΤΑ[ΚΟ**  
 98:27 ] Μ̄ ΣΕΝΑΤΕΚΟ̄ η̄ρ̄β̄η̄σ̄τε̄ μ̄π̄κο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄ η̄ᾱβ̄ω̄λ̄  
 98:28 [αβ̄αλ̄ τ] ρ̄ε̄λ̄π̄ῑς̄ η̄τᾱς̄ μ̄π̄νο̄σ̄τε̄ ε̄σ̄κ̄η̄ ᾱσ̄ω̄ν̄ε̄ η̄ψ̄ᾱ  
 98:29 [ᾱη̄η̄ρ̄]ε̄ (vac)

Everything will be destroyed, the things of the world will be dissolved;  
 but the hope of God exists for life  
 eternal.

47 **Ο̄Σ̄Σ̄ΜΟ̄Σ̄ Ο̄Σ̄ᾹΡ̄Χ̄Η**  
 98:30 ] traces [ ]  
 98:31 . [ . . . . . ] traces [ ]  
 98:32 **ΕῙΔ̄Ω̄ . Ε̄Τ̄Ρ̄Η̄Τ̄Σ̄ Ν** traces [ ]

A blessing, a beginning [ ...  
 ...  
 ...

48 **Π̄Χ̄̄Σ̄ ΝᾹΤΟ̄Σ̄Δ̄Ο̄ Μ̄ΜΟ**  
 99:1 ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . .  
 99:2 ] . . . . . Δ̄ . . . . .

Christ will save thee [ ...  
 ...

49 **η̄ρ̄ῑμ̄η̄σ̄τε̄ η̄η̄ᾱρ**  
 99:3 ] . . η̄τε̄ . . Δ̄ᾱῑ . . . . .  
 99:4 ] . . ρ̄σ̄ . αβ̄αλ̄ ρ̄η̄ νε̄ψ̄ .

The waves of the [ ...  
 ] out from [ ... ]

50 **τψσχη κᾱς̄ε̄ ε̄ρᾱρα**  
 99:5 ] . λ̄ᾱ μ̄π̄ . . η̄ρ̄ . . . . .  
 99:6 ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . [

Soul, that thou might [ ...  
 ...





... the divine ambassador of truth will give thee (o soul) the diadem of light ... will give thee thy crown of renown<sup>89</sup>.

**Text B 1:**

Probably a psalm. Context unclear.

**Text A 5:**

A carefully written eschatological prayer (?), to reinforce the faith in the face of death. The shifting person of the subject makes the flow of the text rather disjointed. The first person 'I' must be the individual believer, here as the redeemed soul. 'He' is initially the Ambassador, then Jesus and then Mani and so on. The feminine of lines 120 - 121 is the image; this could be translated as 'it', but the personification seems preferable. The third plurals at lines 128 and 137 can perhaps better be read as passives: 'I was given ...'.

Thus, the text may be understood as follows:

the individual takes upon him- or herself, 'I *will* pray to the Third Ambassador ...';

then the awareness of a continuous present, 'He *is* sending to me Jesus the Splendour ...';

then the statement of a kind of triumphant past, 'They *have* ferried me up to the land of light ...'.

As regards the details of the path to salvation, these remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world, and must stem from Mani's own canonical writings. In the tenth century an-Nadim recorded:

Mani said:

When death comes to one of the Elect, Primal Man sends him a shining deity in the form of the Wise Guide. With him are three deities, with whom there are the drinking vessel (or 'the victory prize' ?), clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the Elect.

Then there appear to him the Devil of Craving and Lust and the [other] devils. When the member of the Elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the Wise, and the three deities who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the Elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his

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<sup>89</sup> *PsBk 2. 22,17-19* tr. adapted.

hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahijah, Mother of the Living, to where he at first was in the Gardens of Light. As for the body which is abandoned and cast down ...<sup>90</sup>

The specific Coptic terminology in T. Kell. Copt. 2 is found also in the Medinet Madi codices. In this text the use of the perfect tense is at first surprising, since the final revelation of the Father must be in the future, after the destruction of the universe. However, the tense should be understood poetically, noting that Coptic has no future perfect. There occurs the same anticipation in the *Psalm-Book*:

Christ, my bridegroom, has taken me to his bridechamber,  
I have rested with him in the land of the immortal. My brethren,  
I have received my garland.  
[My] land I have beheld, my Fathers I have found, the godly  
have rejoiced over me, my Aeons have welcomed me. My brethren, I have  
received my garland<sup>91</sup>.

While the *Psalm-Book* contains many clear references to the divinities and episodes of the eschatological journey, it can be understood better with reference to the more systematic doctrinal accounts in the *Kephalaia*. In particular chapter 7, 'Concerning the Five Fathers', can be compared; for it relates the different divinities to each other on a schematic level. The value of the Kellis text is that it evidences Manichaean theology 'alive' in the devotional context, while remaining more systematic and comprehensive than the parallel *Psalm-Book* passages. These tend to be somewhat allusive in the poetic manner. For instance:

... Receive the crown from the hand of the judge and the gifts of light, and ascend to thy kingdom and have thy rest<sup>92</sup>.

To understand the relationship between the different divinities in the pantheon it is necessary to realise that in Manichaean theology all the divine is ultimately one, stemming from its first source, the Father of the Lights. However, it was graded hierarchically depending on its distance from, or entrenchment in, matter. Thus the process of emanation stems from the Father, 'the origin of all the lights', outside and 'hidden' from the time and place of mixture (the universe); to the cosmic gods in time, but untainted by

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<sup>90</sup> Tr. Dodge 1970: 795

<sup>91</sup> *PsBk* 2. 63,3-8

<sup>92</sup> *PsBk* 2. 57,28-30, tr. adapted.



mixture; to those gods that interact with mankind; to the apostles in the flesh who incarnate the divine mind; to the elect who live the knowledge and the commandments; to the trapped soul in plant-life and catechumens which must pass on through matter before being redeemed; and to the sinners and animals whose souls are so thoroughly embedded in matter that they are lost.

Titles can relate to each of the grades, depending on the standpoint. Thus 'father' or 'mother' can be any level above you, but the 'Father' or 'Mother of the Lights' is the source, the God beyond gods. In this Kellis text both the Third Ambassador and Jesus the Splendour are termed 'apostle of light'. In the *Kephalaia* the Light Mind or Jesus is 'the father of all the apostles (*Keph.* 20,4 35,22)'.

The path to salvation essentially involves the return or ascent through the various levels. While this can be internalised as a process of purification to the perfect mind, it was ultimately an actual spatial journey through the heavens to the land of light and eternity. It is this eschatological process that is anticipated in the Kellis text.

Some brief explanatory notes can be given:

- *The Third Ambassador* (ΠΜΑΡΨΑΜΤ ἄπρεσβεστῆς). Principal divinity of the third emanation, the gods of salvation. During the time of mixture between light and darkness he has his throne in the sun (line 134, *Keph.* 82,28-31). Although a major figure across the Manichaean world, this cosmic god was somewhat remote, and devotion tended to focus on his evocations as they interacted more closely with humankind.

- *Jesus the Splendour* (Ἰῆς ππ̄ρεῖε). The most popular of the gods of the third emanation, and thus the principal 'redeemer of the souls' (113, *Keph.* 82,21). He is evoked by the Ambassador, of whom he is essentially a more accessible doublet.

- *Light Mind* (πνοῦς ἡοῦδαῖνε). An emanation of Jesus. He is incarnated in the apostles, and in each individual as the 'old man' is transformed into the 'new man' (*Keph.* ch. 38).

- *The Virgin of Light* (τπαρφενος ἄποδαῖνε). Feminine doublet of the Ambassador, and the primary representation of wisdom. At the heart of the Manichaean scheme of salvation there is this male - female duality: Ambassador - Virgin, sun - moon, intellect (νοῦς) - wisdom (σοφία).

- *Manichaios* (ΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟΣ). The last of the apostles in whom the Paraclete foretold by Jesus, which is Mani's divine counterpart or twin (ΠΣΔΕΙΨ), speaks. Thus he is 'the spirit of truth' and 'our lord' (116, *PsBk* 2. 3,12-13 9,3-5 11,26-30 etc.).

- *The counterpart* (ΠΣΔΕΙΨ). Not only does the apostle have a counterpart, but every saved soul at death will be greeted by their perfect spiritual self; who appears in the form of a maiden<sup>93</sup> (*PsBk* 2. 81,3-5). In the systematic accounts of the *Kephalaia* this is properly the Light-Form (ΤΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΟΣΔΙΝΕ) following the pattern of the image to the apostle (*Keph.* 36,9-14 41,11-21). However, as in the Kellis text, the *Psalm-Book* appears to use the term ΠΣΔΕΙΨ in a generalised way (*PsBk* 2. 146,53).

- *The three angels and the gifts* (ΠΨΔΜΤ ΝΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ). The specific reference to the three angels is a feature of the best texts for this crucial episode in the Manichaean hope, and indicates closeness to the presumed canonical source/s. Lists of the gifts vary, this text noticeably lacks the Greek terms of the more detailed *Kephalaia* passage: ΠΒΡΑΒΙΟΝ, ΠΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ (*Keph.* 36,14-18).

- *The judge* (ΠΚΡΙΤΗΣ). Numerous divinities can appear as a judge in Manichaean texts (*Keph.* ch. 28). However, this is the somewhat abstract figure of the 'judge in the atmosphere (ΔΗΡ)', responsible for separating the righteous from sinners at death (124 - 130, *Keph.* 80,29-31). The righteous are without shame (ΨΙΠΕ 125) because they have stripped off the world and the body, and can now approach God with confidence (*Ev. Thom.* log. 37, see Genesis 2:25, and generally psalm 250).

- *The divine path via the pillar - the moon - the sun - to the land of light.* The pathway through the heavens is widely recorded in Manichaean texts. The Pillar of Glory is the visible manifestation of the ascending light souls, the milky way. Doctrinally, it is the reunified body of the First Man ascending back to heaven. Thus it is itself a god. The moon and the sun are staging-posts, ships of 'living water' and 'living fire' (130 - 131, 134, *Keph.* 20,16-18), as the souls are ferried to the land of light (*PsBk* 2. 81,10-13 ΤΧΩΡΑ ΜΠΟΣΔΙΝΕ *Keph.* 235,4 *Keph* (D). 299ff.). Thus the moon waxes and wanes as it collects and transfers its cargo. The *Kephalaia* explains that the sun does not wane, as it displays the mysterious plenitude of the Father (*Keph.* 162, 23-29). In the

<sup>93</sup> The question of gender is interesting: the counterpart (ΠΣΔΕΙΨ) is male whereas the image (εικὼν and also μορφή) is necessarily female. Thus here it states: 'She gave to me ... (122)'. As W. Sundermann reminds me (IG) in the middle Persian text the Šābuhragān the counterpart is nrjmyg, the 'male twin'. On the maiden also see his comments 1994: 455

moon and the sun the gods have their thrones during the time of mixture, barred from the eternal kingdom until the darkness is defeated.

- *The Perfect Man* (ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΖΗΚ ΕΒΔΛ). This is the personification of the Pillar of Glory in whom the redeemed are washed clean and perfected (127 - 128, *PsBk 2*. 22,12-15). In *Kephalaia* ch. 31 the First Man is the head upon which his sons depend as limbs. This head is placed upon the body of the Pillar in the height of the world. Thus the Perfect Man is the collective personification of the community of the saved, the ‘trunk’ of the First Man that at the beginning was devoured and scattered in the darkness, but is now reunited and born again. Ultimately the images are Christological, and derive from Paul (Eph. 4:12 - 13); the sacrificed body of Jesus in whom the believer is perfected. Thus:

Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar: Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church<sup>94</sup>.

- *The First Man* (ΠΥΔΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ). God of the first emanation who descended into the abyss to battle the darkness. This son of God (the Christological theme is explicit) sacrificed his body, or his sons, to be entangled in the darkness and dispersed through matter. However, this is part of the divine plan, for this living soul is the bait upon which evil will ultimately choke. All souls awaiting redemption ultimately stem from the First Man. He is thus our ‘father’ who restores to the ascending soul his first image (131 - 133, *Keph.* 84,17-19 85,18). During the time of mixture his throne is in the moon (130 - 131, *Keph.* 82,32-34); awaiting the final victory when he will be enthroned as king of the new aeon (*Homs.* 41,20).

- *First righteous one* (ΠΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ). This term is occasionally found in the edited Medinet Madi texts (*Keph.* 61,20 *PsBk 2*. 88,15 139,43 and perhaps see 219,25) where the context is unclear. However, in the unpublished material note *PsBk 1*. pl. 229,26 - 27?:

ΠΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΡΕΨΕ [ ... ] ΟΘΩΖ ΝΕΜΕΦ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤΡΡΟ

The First righteous one rejoices [...] dwell with him in his kingdom.

Again, of especial relevance, the term appears twice at *Keph.* 455,30 - 456,2. This is an eschatological section concerning the (probably) fourth ‘changing’ or ‘transition (μετάβασις)’; and it certainly refers to the same episode as the Kellis text:

<sup>94</sup> *PsBk 2*. 59,17-18



[The thi]rd changing is this: he sha[ll] change th[rough the light]-giver of the n[i]ght; and go to the place of the li[ght-giver of the d]ay and enter in to the ship of the day [ ... The fourth] ch[angi]ng [is this]: he [shall] change [through the Thir]d [Amba]ssador [an]d he [ ... ] and he goes to the place of the great [First ri]ghteous one, and he attains it and rest[s] himself [ ... ] the great First righteous [one ... ] with the spirits of his brethren [ ... ]<sup>95</sup>

- *The Beloved of the Lights* (ΠΑΡΕΙΤ ΝΗΘΟΥΔΕΙΝΕ). God of the second emanation whose role in the divine plan is somewhat obscure. The *Kephalaia* stresses that he is ‘the beginning of every honour’ (*Keph.* 43,32-34 82,7-8). In this Kellis text he is placed in the land of light; one might conjecture as some kind of custodian of the kingdom.

- *The Father of the Lights* <sup>96</sup>(ΠΙΩΤ ΝΗΘΟΥΔΕΙΝΕ). The source of all that is good. It was vital in Manichaean theology that the Father remain untainted by the darkness. Indeed, the whole rationale for the evocations is to protect the Father and the kingdom. Between the two eternities of ‘the beginning’ and ‘the end’, from the first attack by evil till the final victory of the light, the Father remains ‘hidden’ and outside of time and the universe. Therefore, in this Kellis text, the soul longs for the final glory when the Father shall reveal his image (142 - 143, *Homs.* 41,11-17 *Keph.* 103,10-30).

#### **Text B 2:**

Communal psalm. Context uncertain.

#### **Text C 1:**

Content and purpose unclear.

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<sup>95</sup> From *Keph.* 455,22 - 456,3 (tr. IG from an unpublished typescript of the Coptic as edited and kindly provided by W.-P. Funk).

<sup>96</sup> Also in a Parthian text: M 2331, 1,8 (Sundermann).

**T. Kell. Copt. 3**

**Inv #** A/5/53A

**Site:** House 3, room 4, level 3. Bound with T. Kell. Copt. 2.

**Description:** wooden codex with seven folios, 167 x 87 x 3 mm. The thickness varies, for these are recycled boards brought together from various contexts, and cut to size. Original text part expunged by a plane.

**Dialect:** unknown. Traces as read are consistent with *L*.

**Content:** various. Traces as read are consistent with Manichaeism, but are too limited for this really to be meaningful.

**Purpose:** unknown.

**Authorship:** unknown. Various?

No edition of these texts has been attempted as their condition is extremely poor, the boards having been deliberately cleaned ready for re-use. Also, my (IG) only opportunity to examine the boards in any detail was for approximately one hour, seated in the Director's office at the Khargeh Museum (where the boards are now housed and in part displayed). My thanks to the Director and her staff for their hospitality and help in this matter. It seems possible that more extended work could produce some results, especially with good light and perhaps specialist photography and / or computer enhancement. Some brief notes follow:

**Folio 1.** Side a: nothing, probably outer cover. Side b: slight traces of coating upper lh (unreadable).

**Folio 2.** Clear traces of regular text both sides, could be readable in part.

**Folio 3.** Faint traces both sides, probably useless.

**Folio 4.** As 3. Coating appears to have been scraped off.

**Folio 5.** As 3 and 4, useless.

**Folio 6.** The best preserved board with regular text on both sides. It should be possible to make some progress with this.

Side a: large carefully framed and ruled lines, with the ink clearly visible, appear to have been written over a text in a much smaller hand. The wood has been cut to size, for the text runs on through the edge of the board.

Side b: similar, with best traces of ink in the lower part.

**Folio 7.** Clear traces of text on coating. Side b: text inverted to that on side a, and on folios 2 and 6. Different hand to the very regular and 'inscribed' hand of 2 and 6. Something might be retrievable.

## T. Kell. Copt. 4

Inv # A/5/6

EAO #1856

Site: House 3, room 6, level 1

**Description:** Wooden board, found 12/1/91. Inscribed in black ink by a single scribe on both sides. Broken vertically along the grain so that only part lines remain. Punctured at the edge indicating that it was originally bound with other boards to form a codex<sup>97</sup>. 162 x 25 - 41 x 3mm. Side a margins: 9mm (upper); 8 - 14 mm (lh); 12 mm (lower).

**Dialect:** L. With reference to Medinet Madi it appears that the Kellis scribe here has a tendency to write  $\bar{\text{N}}\Pi$  where Allberry's more consistently uses  $\bar{\text{M}}\Pi$  (nasal assimilation to a following labial consonant); and that Allberry's duplicates the vowel in  $\rho\omega\text{N}$  and  $\alpha\text{OC}$ . However, all features indicate, at the very least, a close dialectical link.

**Content:** Two Manichaean psalms (part). This board contains the first Manichaean text identified at Kellis (by R.G. Jenkins), for side a parallels the latter part of Medinet Madi psalm 222 (*PsBk 2*). Subsequent study (IG) has shown that on side b begins psalm 109, as found on plate 154 of Giversen's facsimile edition of *PsBk 1*. Thus the board must originally have been preceded, and almost certainly have been followed, by others.

**Text:**

a1       $\alpha\text{OC } \text{NE}\rho \text{ } \alpha[\text{E } \text{KCM}\alpha\text{M}\alpha\alpha\text{T } \text{TTE}\chi\text{NH}]^{98}$   
 2             $\epsilon\text{T}\alpha\dot{\text{I}} \text{ } \text{NTE } \text{PC} . [$

<sup>97</sup> This appears to have been done on different occasions. There are two well-formed holes on the upper part, where it would seem that the text has been written afterwards; (though the evidence from side b is contradictory, see *infra*). The two other holes have a different alignment, which suggests that the board has been re-used. However, again the scribe (certainly on side a in the lower instance) appears to avoid these, so this must also be prior to the present text.

<sup>98</sup> Column widths and text can be reconstructed with relative certainty from the Medinet Madi parallel. On side a, once appropriate adjustments are made for indented text (compare photograph), it is apparent that the lines have considerable regularity: an average of 22 letters per line on the upper board rises to 26 on the lower. E.g. adjusted calculations for the first fifteen lines: 20 - 22 - 24 - 22 - 23 - 14 - 20 - 23 - 22 - 21 - 20 - 20 - 24 - 23 - 23. The apparent anomaly at line 6 (11 letters adjusted to 14) can easily be explained as due to a strophe ending.



3            ντε πρ[  
 4            νηϊατε [   
 5            (vac) πλαν[  
 6            (vac) ετμ[  
 7    χαίρε πδ[  
 8            μ̄μνε ν̄[  
 9            ριωοσ ντε [   
 10           (vac) πτα[  
 11           (vac) ρεϿ[  
 12            μηνοσς ν̄[  
 13    ψηνη ηιμ ρ[  
 14            εις ν̄ρρηρε [   
 15            ιε δβαλ . . [   
 16            νησωδε ν̄ . [   
 17            μρε μη πςη[  
 18    πανρ τηρϿ τρ . [   
 19            μ̄ποοσ πκεκ . . [   
 20            μεοσε . . ια . [   
 21            ν̄δι τπρω ετα . [   
 22            μαρ̄ν̄ρβαλ ρων δ . [   
 23    πκαναβε δβαλ ηη[  
 24            στηριον νεταπς . [   
 25            ν̄η̄πετρηη μ̄πε . [   
 26            ετοσαδ ετε μ̄η π[  
 27            κλησια ετοσαβε ν̄[  
 28            π̄η̄ιωτ· (vac) πχ[  
 29            ν̄ρεψε ν̄τε ππ̄α [   
 30            ηεν ν̄ρματ ηκς . [   
 31            ν̄κδακ̄μ̄ ρ̄ν̄ οσρεψ[  
 32            (vac) πε .<sup>99</sup>ψαρε νεϿ[  
 33            (vac) ζωκμε ν̄νοσ . [

b34 ] traces

35 ] traces

36 ]η̄η̄οσ . . [

37 ] δβαλ [

38 ] . . . . δηρ[

<sup>99</sup> Erasure, or smudged τ

39	]ϣ ⲁⲓϣ[ <sup>100</sup> ]ϵ[
40	] traces
	(vac)
41	] . . . [
42	] . . [
43	]Ⲙⲟϥ traces ϵ
44	] trace (?)
45	]Ⲙⲟϥ ω . . . .
46	] . ⲬⲐϥ ⲁⲓⲛⲛ
47	] ⲛⲧⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϥ . . .
48	]ⲛⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲟⲛⲁ
49	] ⲛⲓⲡⲥⲭⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ
50	]ⲣⲟϥ †ⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ
51	] . ⲉ ⲑⲥⲗⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲗⲃⲉ
52	] ⲉϥⲙⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲟϣ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ
53	] . ⲟϥϣ ⲉϥϣⲟϥⲓⲧ:
54	]ⲉϣⲁ †ⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲟ
55	]ⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲙⲛⲛⲁⲣⲉⲛ ϥⲟϥ
56	]ϥ ⲧⲛⲣϥ (vac)
57	] . ⲧⲉϥⲟϥⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲛⲛⲟⲧⲉ
58	] . ⲧⲓⲧⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁ
59	] . ϥ ⲁⲑⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲧϥ
60	]ⲛⲣϥ ϥⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲣ . ⲁⲧ
61	]ⲉ . ⲧⲉⲁϥⲁⲓ †ⲛ[
62	]ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲛ[
63	]ⲟ ⲙⲙⲛⲛⲉ ⲛ . . . . .
64	]ⲁⲣⲉ ⲟϥⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲁ . . ⲟϥ
65	] . . . 101

**Comment:** The Kellis (K) and Med. Madi texts may be placed in parallel to illustrate the textual and dialectic variants.

<sup>100</sup> This hole *appears* to have been drilled through the text, whereas on side a the scribe has avoided it. In reality then it must already have been present. Perhaps this explains why the following ϵ appears large and is not consistent with the rest of the script. This also indicates that one should read Ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲓϣ (rather than Ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲓ); see Allberry's note to *PsBk 2*. 9,1 and Wurst 1995: 170 n.4

<sup>101</sup> Follows line 64, without prior traces. Significance unclear.

## Psalm 222 (Allberry 8:6 - 9:1 / T. Kell. Copt. 4 a1 - b40):

8:6 ΔΟΟС ΝΕϢ ΔΕ ΚСМАМΔΑТ ТТЕΧНН ЕТАЇ НТЕ ПСЕ  
 К ΔΟС ΝΕϢ Δ[ ] ΕΤΑЇ НТЕ ПС . [

8:7 ΔΕ ΠΒНМА ЕТСОУТАНТ̄ НТЕ ПРΕϢϢΕΡ ΕΤΑЇ  
 К ] НТЕ ПР[

8:8 ПМА НϢМЕС̄Т̄ ННЇΔΑΤΕ ΜΠΟУΔΑΪΝΕ ΕΤΟУНУ ΔΤΠΑΔ  
 К ] ННЇΔΑΤΕ [ ] ПЛАΔ

8:9 НН' ТСН̄ТЕ ΜΠΕРО ΕΤϢΔΛϢ ΕΤΜΗϢ НСОФІА  
 К Н[Н ] ΕΤМ[

8:10 ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΒНМА ΜΠΕРО ПΜΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΑЇ НТЕ ТНΠΟΛΙС·  
 ПΚΛΔМ  
 К ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΒ[ ] ΜΜНЕ Н[

8:11 ΕΤΡΑУТ' ΕΤΠРЇУОУ НМΨУΧΑУЕ ΕΤΒΡΑЇТ' ПТАΔΟ  
 К ]РЇУОУ НТЕ [ ] ПТА[

8:12 ϢϢϢ ΜНТКРІСІС ННΡΕϢРНАВЕ· ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΒНМА Μ  
 К ]ΡΕϢ[ ] Μ

8:13 ПНОУС НТРАФАУЕ ΕΤΟУΔВЕ  
 К ПНОУС Н[ ]

8:14 ΕΙС ΨНН НІМ ϢΠΟΟУЕ ΔУР̄В̄РРЕ НКАІСАП' ΕΙС НϢРН  
 К ΨНН НІМ Ϣ[ ] ΕΙС НϢРН

8:15 РЕ НОУР̄Т̄ ΔУПОР̄Ψ̄ ПОУСАЇЕ ΔΒΔΛ ΔΕ ΔϢΨУТ' Н  
 К РЕ [ ] Ε ΔΒΔΛ . . [

8:16 ΔЇ ПСНАϢ ΕΤΔЇ НОУϢУВЕ НϢΔНС' ΨУТ' ϢУОК  
 К ] ННϢУВЕ Н . [

8:17 ННМР̄РЕ ΜНПСНАϢ ННННАВЕ  
 К ]МР̄РЕ ΜН ПСН[ ]





8:30 ΠΕΔΘ ΝΕΚ ΠΝ̄ΙΩΤ Π[ΜΑΝ]ΙΧΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΕΔΘ [ΠΝΔΘ  
Κ

8:31 Π̄ΝΟϞΤΕ ΠϞϞ̄Ρ [ΝΤΚ ΠΚΑΝ]ΔΒΕ ΔΒΔΛ ΤΗΡϞ ΠΤ[Δ  
Κ

8:32 ΨΕΔ̄ΙΨ Μ̄ΠΩΝϞ' ΠΠΡΕϞΒΕϞΤΗΣ Π̄ΤΕ ΝΔΠ[ΔΙϞΕ  
Κ

8:33 ΠΕΔΘ Μ̄ΠΕΚΒΗΜΑ ΠΕΚΜΑΝϞΜΕϞ̄ ΕΤ† . . . [ . . . . .  
Κ ] . . . . ΔΝϞ[

9:1 Τ|ΨϞΧΗ ΔΗ Μ̄ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕϞΔΔΙ ΟϞΔ̄Ϊ ΨΔΠΕΚΝΔΕ  
ΠΑΔΔ̄ΙϞ  
Κ Ο|ϞΔΙΨ[ ]Ε

Although the upper part of T. Kell. Copt. 4 side b is poorly preserved, the traces that remain are enough to demonstrate that it did include the doxology. However, if one assumes consistent line lengths (thus side a) it would indicate some variation in the text.

The textual variants tend towards the primacy of T. Kell. Copt. 4:

- the Med. Madi text includes the interjection ΕΙϞ ('lo!') at the beginning of the verse ΨΗΝ ΝΙΜ (8:14 = 13), providing more force to the psalm; although not much weight can be placed on this.
- perhaps similarly, but of more significance, the nominal form ΠΚΑΝΔΒΕ ΔΒΔΛ (23) has been given more dynamism as a verb in the Med. Madi text: 'forgive .. (8:22)'. However, the syntax for the Kellis version is problematic, since the latter part of the sentence would require a prior verb<sup>103</sup>.
- the Kellis ΕΤΟϞΔΔ (26) will be primary to ΕΤΟϞΔΒΕ (8:24), presumably a corruption from 8:25. Note the 'wholesome wisdom (ΤϞΟϞΙΑ ΕΤΟϞΔΔ)' at *PsBk 2. 79,13*.
- the reading of ΝΝϞΩΒΕ (16) equates to Allberry's suggested Π̄ΚΝ>ϞϞΩΒΕ (8:16).

<sup>103</sup> See Wurst 1995: 170 n.1

- the Kellis  $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{E}}$  (8) corresponds to  $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}$  (8:10), providing the reading: ‘true sign’.

**Psalm 109** (Giversen 154: (x+) 14 - 30 / T. Kell. Copt. 4 b41 - 65):

154:(x+)14 [p̄θ]  
[109]

Incipit [n̄w]nre n̄treite [  
154:15 n̄w nre n̄tre . . e et . . .<sup>104</sup> [  
κ

The children of the living (?) race [ ...

154:15 . [ . . . . ] . . . t̄n̄ ap̄koc̄m̄oc̄ . . . [  
κ ]m̄oc̄ e  
] to the world [ ...

154:16 [ ] (vac)  
κ

...

154:17 [ ] . . . . . [  
κ ]m̄oc̄ w̄ . . . . [ ] . ḥoṯ de nn[  
...

154:18 . . . . w̄ . . . . oṯ̄ ḥ̄ . . [  
κ ]n̄t̄n̄ ḡn̄ pec̄ . . . [  
... ] in his [ ...

154:19 . . . ḡ n̄ḡh̄don̄aṯe m̄ . . . . . [  
κ ]n̄m̄a n̄ḡh̄don̄a[ ] n̄ψ̄ōx̄h̄ net̄na[  
] the lusts of [ ... ] the souls that will [ ...

154:20 . [ . . . ] ḡ neī w̄aṯ̄ḡaṣe m̄pn̄oṯte  
κ nei t̄h̄roṯ ḡaṣe m̄pn̄oṯte [  
] all these shall suffer the loss of God [ ...

<sup>104</sup> Perhaps: n̄w nre n̄treite et̄an̄ḡ

- 154:21 ρ . [ . . . ] Ν̄Τ̄ ΔΤΡ̄ΘΛΗ ρ̄Ν̄ Μ̄Ν̄ΤΡ̄Δ̄ΛΒΕΡ̄Ο [ ]  
 Κ ] . Ε Θ̄ΣΛΗ Ν̄Ρ̄Δ̄ΛΒΕ[Ρ̄Ο  
 ] deceitful matter [ ...
- 154:22 . [ . . . . ] Μ̄ΠΩΨ Ν̄Ρ̄ΗΤ Δ . [ . ] Ν̄Σ ρ̄[ Δ̄ΘΨ  
 Κ ] Ε̄Θ̄ΜΗΡ̄ Ν̄ΠΩΨ Ν̄Ρ̄ΗΤ [ ρ̄] . Ο̄Θ̄Ψ  
 ] they are full of heartbreak [ ... ] in empty
- 154:23 [ ] (vac)  
 Κ Ε̄ΥΨΟ̄Θ̄ΙΤ̄:  
 cares.
- 154:24 [ . . . ] . ΤΨ̄Θ̄ΧΗ Ε̄Ρ̄ΨᾹΤ̄ᾹΣΕ [ ]  
 Κ ] Ε̄ΨᾹΤ̄ᾹΣΕ Μ̄ΠΚΟ[ΣΜΟΣ Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΡ]Μ̄Μ  
 ... ] soul, if thou shall lose the world [ ... ] the richness
- 154:25 [ . . . ] ΠΑΡΕΝ ΣΟ̄Τ̄ᾹΤ̄ΒΕ Δ̄ΠΚΟ[ΣΜΟΣ Τ̄ . [ ]  
 Κ Δ̄Ο Μ̄ΠΑΡΕΝ ΣΟ̄Τ̄[ᾹΤ̄ΒΕ Δ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Τ̄ΗΡ̄Υ  
 of my name [surpasses the] entire [world].
- 154:26 [ . . . . ] . . Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν̄Τ̄ [ . . ] . . [ ]  
 Κ ] . ΤΕ̄ΣΟ̄Θ̄ΩΝ Μ̄Π̄Ψ̄ΤΕ[ ] . Τ̄Ψ̄  
 ... ] of the world [ ... ] know the [ ...
- 154:27 [ . . . ] . Θ̄ Ε̄ΤΡ̄ᾹΘ̄Ν̄Τ̄Ψ̄ Π̄ΒΕΚ̄Ε Ε[ ]  
 Κ ΤΕ̄ΝΔ̄ΩΝ̄ ρ̄[ ] . Ϛ̄ Δ̄Θ̄Ε Μ̄ΠΩ̄Τ̄ Ν̄ΤΟ̄Τ̄Υ [ ]  
 ] ...<sup>105</sup> [ ...
- 154:28 [ . . . ] Ε̄ Τ̄ΗΡ̄Υ Ϛ̄[ Ν̄ΣΩ Δ̄Θ̄ . . [ ]  
 Κ Τ̄]ΗΡ̄Υ Ϛ̄[ Ν̄ΣΩ Δ̄Θ̄Ρ̄ . Δ̄Θ̄[ ] Ε̄ . ΤΕ̄ Δ̄Υ  
 ] entire [ ... ] is sated of drink; they have [ ... ] he has
- 154:29 [ . . ] Π̄Ε Μ̄ΠΜΟ̄Θ̄ Ψ̄ᾹΝ̄ΤΕΥ[ ]  
 Κ Δ̄Ι Ψ̄[ Ε̄ ] Ε̄ΥΝᾹΡ̄ΜΕ Ν̄Π[ ] ΙΘ̄  
 tasted death until being saved [ ...

<sup>105</sup> The meaning of this and the previous line, and their concordance with the Medinet Madi version, is unclear. In the Kellis text one reads the verb 'live (ΩΝΡ)'; and in the supposed parallel is '... find it (ΘΝΤΨ)'.

154:30 [ . . . ] . . . ⲙⲡ . . . ⲛⲗ . . . [   
 Ⲁ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ . . . . . [ ⲓⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲁ   
 daily [ ... ] follow after them to [ ...

154:31?   
 Ⲁ . . ⲟⲩⲥ [ ] ⲛ̄ . . . .   
 ] ...

**Format:** From the facsimile it is possible that plate 154 continued with further lines (thus 154,31?). However, given that each page rarely contains more than about 33 lines, and allowing for the possibility that lines may also have been lost at the top, these can not have been many.

The top of plate 155 is poorly preserved. In mid page the doxology of a psalm is clear, which must be 110, for it is followed by a psalm number that Giversen notes (correctly) as 111, i.e. ⲡⲓⲁ. In this case, if the plate sequence is true, psalm 110 must have been very short, and 109 to have finished close to where the text breaks off on plate 154 and T. Kell. Copt. 4. This seems unlikely.

In general psalm 109 is not well preserved in either the Medinet Madi or Kellis versions. Whilst enough remains to demonstrate the parallel, the exact concordance of most of the lines can only be deduced with reservations.

Nevertheless, similar points about the text and dialect are as apparent here as for psalm 222. Perhaps of most interest are the readings of ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲗⲃⲉⲗⲟ (51) and ⲧⲗⲩⲗⲏ ⲗ̄ⲛ̄ <ⲧⲥ>ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲗⲃⲉⲗⲟ (154,21). This unusual term ⲗⲁⲗⲃⲉⲗⲟ occurs in *PsBk 2*. 73,16 109,25. Allberry suggests the translation ‘deceiver (?)’; and see Crum 668a who quotes the form ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲗⲁⲗⲃⲉⲗⲟ, which is in fact from *PsBk 1* plate 314,21. The texts here can be translated ‘deceitful matter’ and ‘matter in <its> deceitfulness’.



**T. Kell. Copt. 5****Inv #** A/5/107**EAO #**1868**Site:** House 3, room 9, level 3

**Description:** small fragment of wooden board. Inscribed one side only; with faded traces of underlying script both sides, erased. 20 x 77mm. Text only at edge (25mm) with 50mm margin. Indicates a literary text with standardised lines.

**Dialect:** probably *L*.**Content:** possibly from a Manichaean psalm.**Text:**

x+1	] . . [
2	]ετϱιζ̄ñ πτηρϣ
3	]ϑ̄ñσ̄ε
4	]ετβραϊτ
x+1	] . . [
2	] that is over the all
3	] things
4	] that is victorious

## T. Kell. Copt. 6

Inv # A/5/195

EAO # 1875

Site: House 3, Room 8, level 4

**Description:** part inscribed wooden board 234 x 27 - 33mm, vertical break. Poor preservation. Order of sides unknown. Side a: remains of coating visible, with some text adhering. Perhaps 50 lines; but only occasional letters visible after line 20, and just traces after 38. Side b: worse preservation, with most traces in the lowest part. Text sequence is tête-bêche. ⲕ writ large (line b-6); which could indicate an ending or title, or (best) the beginning of a strophe.

**Dialect:** L.

**Content:** side a parallels Medinet Madi psalm 261; it is not known if the doxology is present.

**Text**<sup>106</sup>:

a1		trace?
2		] . . . ⲧⲁⲕⲱ ⲁⲃⲙ ⲡ . . .
3		] . . . . ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲥⲉ .
4		] ⲧⲙⲟⲥ . <sup>107</sup> ⲧⲎⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲉ
5		] . . . ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁⲩⲱⲩ ⲁ
6		] . ⲱⲣⲡ ⲱ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄
7	]ⲣⲉ	] ⲱ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
8		] ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩ . ⲉ . ⲁⲥⲛ̄ⲛ̄[ . ]
9		] . ⲓ̄ . ⲧ . ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ .
10		] . . . ⲭ̄ . ⲥⲉⲱⲛ̄ⲉ ⲛ̄
11		] ⲡⲉ . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧ̄ .
12		] . . . ⲣ̄ⲱ̄ ⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧⲉ
13		] . . . ⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ . ⲛ̄ . . .
14		]ⲙ̄ . ⲁ . ⲉ . ⲙⲁ ⲱ̄ . .

<sup>106</sup> Column widths can be calculated from the Medinet Madi parallel to average about 30 letters per line.

<sup>107</sup> There appears to be the trace of a letter here, but it is difficult to imagine what it could be. Perhaps it is a strophe marker.

15	. . . . . πᾱσ̄ωρ
16	. ᾱι ᾱβ̄ . . . . . ᾱλ̄μ .
17	. η̄ . . . . . μ̄πετο̄ϑ̄
18	. . . . . η̄ τε . κ̄λη̄
19	η̄̄ϑ̄ρ . ἴ̄ . . . . .
20	ᾱῑν[ο]̄ϑ̄ δε ᾱβᾱλ
21	. μ̄π traces
22	]π traces
23	]η̄η̄ . traces
24	traces ᾱβ̄ᾱλ ᾱ . .
25	τε .
26	ε̄ῑᾱ
31	ε̄το̄ϑ̄
32	ψ̄ᾱλε̄
33	. . η̄̄τᾱς̄το̄λη̄
36	τε̄ ᾱϑ̄ρ̄ω
37	. . τᾱ
38	ε̄τᾱ
b-9	. . . ε̄τᾱκ̄ζ̄ῑν
-8	ᾱπε̄ς̄ † . . η̄̄ . . .
-7	. ἴ̄ ϑ̄̄μ̄ η̄̄δ̄ῑς̄ε̄ ᾱ .
-6	vac <sup>108</sup> κ̄ς̄ᾱϑ̄νε̄
-5	
-4	
-3	
-2	
-1	

If side a is placed in parallel with Allberry's text of Psalm 261 (*PsBk 2. 75,10 - 76,25*):

75:11    ϸωτε] ᾠμαῖ π̄χ̄ρ̄ς̄ ᾠμακαριος̄ π̄ρεϸωτε ἡ̄μ̄ψ̄ϑ̄  
 κ

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps the start of a strophe.

- 75:12  $\chi\alpha\sigma\iota\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha\beta\epsilon$   
 К
- 75:13  $\dagger\eta\alpha\pi\omega\eta\epsilon$   $\alpha\gamma\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$   $\alpha\mu\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa\omega$   $\alpha\delta\bar{\eta}$   $\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota$   
 К ] . .  $\tau\alpha\kappa\omega$   $\alpha\delta\mu$   $\pi$  . . [
- 75:14  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ ·  $\sigma\omega\psi$   $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\alpha\lambda\pi\iota\gamma\zeta$   $\dagger\sigma\omega\tau\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma\mu\epsilon$   
 К ] . . . .  $\dagger\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$   $\varsigma\epsilon$  . [
- 75:15  $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}$   $\alpha\gamma\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$   $\psi\alpha\eta\iota\alpha\tau\mu\omicron\sigma$   
 К ]  $\tau\mu\omicron\sigma$  .
- 75:16  $\dagger\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\alpha\delta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\alpha$  [ $\gamma$   $\epsilon$ ]  $\tau\alpha\sigma\varsigma\alpha\sigma$   
 К  $\dagger\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon$  [ ] . .  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\varsigma\alpha\sigma$
- 75:17  $\gamma\bar{\varphi}$   $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$   $\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau\bar{\varphi}$ ·  $\delta\bar{\eta}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\psi\eta\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$   $\psi\eta\mu$   
 К  $\gamma\varphi$   $\alpha$  [ ] .  $\psi\omicron\pi$   $\gamma\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\alpha\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\psi\eta\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$
- 75:18  $\alpha$ ]  $\bar{\iota}$   $\delta\iota$   $\varsigma\beta\omega$   $\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon$   $\gamma\bar{\eta}\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}\tau$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\eta\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$   
 К ]  $\gamma\bar{\iota}$   $\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}\tau$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\eta\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$
- 75:19  $\bar{\mu}$  [ $\pi$ ]  $\omicron\rho\tau\epsilon$   $\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon$   $\rho\iota\mu\epsilon$   $\eta\eta\bar{\iota}$   $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa$   $\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\eta\alpha\varsigma\eta\eta\sigma$   
 $\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$   
 К ]  $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa$   $\omicron\sigma$  .  $\epsilon$  .  $\alpha\varsigma\eta\eta$  . [
- 75:20  $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\delta\pi\omicron$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\bar{\iota}$ ·  $\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$   $\eta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$   $\gamma\bar{\eta}\pi\delta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$   
 К ] .  $\bar{\iota}$  .  $\tau$  .  $\bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota$  . [
- 75:21  $\varsigma$ ]  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\bar{\iota}\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\psi\sigma\chi\eta$   $\varsigma\epsilon\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\varsigma$   
 К ] . . .  $\chi$  .  $\varsigma\epsilon\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}$  [
- 75:22  $\bar{\pi}\delta\alpha\delta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\psi\sigma\chi\eta$   $\eta\epsilon$   $\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\bar{\varphi}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\omicron$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$   
 К ]  $\pi\epsilon$  .  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau$ · [
- 75:23  $\tau\bar{\varphi}\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\eta$ ·  $\pi\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\bar{\varphi}$   $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\sigma$   
 К ] . . .  $\rho\bar{\varphi}$   $\varphi\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$  [





- 76:5 . . . . . ΕΚ . ΗΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ε[ . . . . .  
Κ
- 76:6 ΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΑΛΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΔΝΑΝ ΝΕ Η . . [ . . . . .  
Κ
- 76:7 ΤΑΠ` ΝΟΥΤΑΖ ΠΙΑΜ ΖΩΩΥ ΠΕ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΣΩ[ΤΠ Μ  
Κ
- 76:8 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΖΑΜΕΤΕ  
Κ
- 76:9 ΠΔΩΚΜΕ ΝΤΜΗΤΑΤΜΟΥ ΔΙΔΩΚΜΕ ΝΖΗ[ΤΥ ΖΙ  
Κ
- 76:10 ΤΗΝΗΓΙΔ ΝΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ ΣΕΤΩΩΜΕ ΜΜΑΪ Δ[ΜΜΑ  
Κ  
ΕΤΟΥ
- 76:11 ΝΨΕΛΕΕΤ ΜΠΔΙΣΕ ΕΪΝΑΒΩΚ ΔΖΡΗΪ ΕΪΣΑ[ΛΕ  
Κ  
ΨΔΛΕ<sup>109</sup>
- 76:12 ΝΤΣΤΟΥΛΗ  
Κ  
ΝΤΑΣΤΟΥΛΗ
- 76:13 ΤΜΟΥΦΗ ΕΤΖΑΘ †ΡΖΑΤΕ ΖΗΤΣ` ΕΝ †ΟΥΑΜΨΤ[ΧΗ Ε  
Κ
- 76:14 ΤΜΗΖ ΜΠΛΑΝΗ` ΤΕΤΕ ΝΙΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΖΑΤΕ ΖΗΤΣ` Η  
Κ
- 76:15 ΡΕΨΜΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΣΩΜ ΔΖΡΗΪ ΔΔΩΣ  
Κ  
]ΤΕ ΔΣΩ
- 76:16 ΠΕΤΑΨΤΣΕΒΑΪ ΑΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΑΨ ΔΝ ΠΕΤΑ†ΚΛΑΜ Δ  
Κ  
] . . ΤΑ  
]ΕΤΑ

<sup>109</sup> Cf. T. Kell. Copt. 2,40: ΠΜΔ ΝΨΔΛΕΤ

- 76:17 ρρῆ ἄδωϊ · πεταϥδαρμετ̄ ψαπετοσαβε ἡ  
κ
- 76:18 τ̄αϥ ἄη̄ πετναςακ̄τ̄ ἄρρῆ ψανιϥωστηρ  
κ
- 76:19 Ο . η̄ . . . . . ηεμηϊ ε̄ . . . . . ρζαη̄ . . . . .  
κ
- 76:20 τοσ ἡη̄ . . . . . δε οσμη̄τ̄ψεσ ἄβαλ ρ̄νοσμη̄τ̄[ . . . . .  
κ
- 76:21 . εῖναβωκ ἄρρῆ ἄτϥσσιε ἡτμη̄τ̄ψεσ  
κ
- 76:22 . ] . . . . . μη̄η̄ερο̄ ἡη̄η̄κ̄λ̄ε̄ †τωβρ̄ ἡμακ ρ̄βο  
κ
- 76:23 η̄θ̄εῖ ἄραϊ †σαη̄σῆ̄ ἡη̄ωτ̄ῆ̄ [ω] ἡπετοσαβε δε  
κ
- 76:24 ἡδ̄ η̄δ̄ε̄ ἄρρῆ ἄδωϊ ἄη̄ακ τ̄ψ̄σχη̄ μαρη̄α θεοη̄α  
κ
- 76:25 π̄|ψ̄ᾱ|ῖ̄ ἡἡ̄δ̄ἡ̄νοσ̄τε  
κ

**Format:**

It is of some interest to note that the introductory strophe of the psalm has not been read on the Kellis board. Whether there is a trace of text at line 1 is debateable; but even if so it would still be difficult to fit the entire start of the psalm into the available space. Since it seems unlikely that the scribe would have begun a new piece at the very base of a board, it may be that the first strophe was abbreviated in some way; or else that the board has been cut to size for re-use after this text was written, as is the case with T. Kell. Copt. 2 folio 4.

**Comment:**

It has been demonstrated that the parallel texts are extremely close in this instance. Aside from minor details of orthography there are only three slight textual variants:

(line 7) ϩⲓ for ϩⲛ̄ (a common prepositional change)

(line 12) ϣⲙⲁⲥⲧⲈ (the Medinet Madi text has assimilated the 3rd. person singular ϣ into the preceding word ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̄ or the Kellis text has duplicated it)

(line 33) ⲧⲁⲥⲧⲠⲟⲗⲏ (the Medinet Madi text has dropped the possessive, or vice-versa)

Whilst none of these variants are of much importance in themselves, they are of some significance when discussing the priority or otherwise of the Kellis psalm texts. Of course, it is arguable whether a possessive is dropped or added; and in each instance the change could work either way. However, it is worth noting (and this does suggest the priority of the Kellis text) that ϩⲓ has much less frequent usage than ϩⲛ̄





13           ϢΔΛϢⲁ̅ ⲛ̅ϣⲏⲧ Δϣⲡⲱϣ . . [   
 14           ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲱⲙⲟϣⲟⲣⲟϢ· Δϣ† ⲙ̅ⲡⲉ[   
 15           Ϣⲱⲧⲙ̅ ⲛ̅ⲏϢⲧⲟⲓϫⲉⲓⲱⲛ //   
 16    ⲧⲖΔⲙ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟϣⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ . . ϣ[   
 17           ⲙⲡⲕⲟϢⲙⲟϢ ϣⲙ̅ ⲡⲟϣⲱϣⲉ [   
 18           ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟϢ ⲉⲧⲟϣⲛⲁⲙ̅ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̅[ⲙⲁϣ   
 19    ⲧϢⲟϣⲓⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲕ [   
 20           ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟϣⲁⲓⲛ[ⲉ . ]ⲧ<sup>113</sup>ϢΔⲓ̅ϣ . [   
 21           ⲛ̅ⲛ̅Δⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ [ . . ]ϣ<sup>114</sup> ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧ[   
 22    ⲡϣⲓϢⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅Ϣⲧⲟⲓϫⲉⲓⲱⲛ [   
 23           ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲉϣ· ⲡⲉⲧⲟϣⲡⲱ<sup>115</sup>[   
 24           ⲡⲛⲟϣⲛ ϣⲛ̅ ⲟϣϣⲓϢⲉ [   
 25           ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲧⲓ̅ϣⲓⲛⲉⲓ Δ<sup>116</sup>[   
 26    ϣⲙ̅ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ[ⲕ   
 27           ⲕⲱⲗϣ Δϣⲟϣⲛ ⲟϣⲃⲉ [   
 28           ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϣⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ[   
 29           Ϣⲉⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲣ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϣ [   
 30           ⲛ̅ⲛⲟϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ //   
  
 b(x+)<sup>31</sup>    ] . [   
 32    ]Ϣ ⲛⲉϢⲉ†ⲧⲟⲧ[   
 33    ]ⲡⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲏⲁϢⲱ[   
 34    ]ϣ· ⲡⲉⲧⲟϣⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙ[Δϣ]   
 35    ] Δϣⲟϣⲛ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ̅Ϣⲧⲟϣ· ⲛ̅[   
 36    ] ⲟϣⲛⲁϢ ⲛ̅ϣⲟⲟϣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲉ[ϣⲉ]   
 37    ]ϕⲁϣ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϣ<sub>vac</sub> . ⲉⲣⲉ   
 38    ⲙ]ⲡⲉΔϣ· ⲛ̅<sub>vac</sub>Ϣⲉ   
 39    ]ⲉ ϣⲁΔⲁⲛⲏ<sub>vac</sub>ϣⲉ   
 40    ⲡⲙⲁ]ⲛⲓϫⲁⲓⲟϢ· ⲧ . . .<sup>117</sup> ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ!

<sup>113</sup> For **ϢΔⲓ̅ϣ** as feminine see Allberry's note at *PsBk* 2, 56,21

<sup>114</sup> Or **ϣⲓ**

<sup>115</sup> The sense is unclear. The scribe appears to have finished the word but I (IG) can think of no satisfactory meaning. Perhaps for some reason he does leave an unusually large space here, note (see photograph) **ⲕⲟϢ ⲙⲟϢ** in line 17 and **ⲁⲛ [ⲕ** in line 26; there are various possibilities for a verb beginning **ⲡⲱ**[

<sup>116</sup> The **Δ** seems to stand alone and does not suggest **ΔⲃΔλ** i.e. 'coming forth' (rather than 'advent'); but again the scribe's lay-out (spacing) is curious.

<sup>117</sup> It would seem too large a space for **ϣⲉ**

41 ] : ΤΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΤΕ ΤΕΙ  
 42 ] ΔΥΤΕΒΒΑΤ ΔΝ̄ ΝΑ . ΦΔ<sup>118</sup>  
 43 ] vac ΟΘΕΔΤ ΜΠΙΩΤ  
 44 ] Ε ΠΩΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΕΤΜΗΕ'  
 45 ] Η|ΟΘΤΣ ΠΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ' ΜΝ̄ ΠΕΥ  
 46 ] ΜΝ̄ ΟΘΑΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΘΤΕ  
 <ε>ραγ //

47 [ΔΥΔ]ΩΚ

vac

48 ] Η ΠΡΗ ΜΝ̄ ΠΟΖ ΜΠΟΥΡΟΣ  
 49 ] ΛΑΘΕ ΝΝ̄ΣΑΪΣ ΝΔΨΙΡΕ<sup>119</sup>  
 50 ] ΔΘΕ ΔΠΚΑΘ ΝΝΙΑΤΜΟΘ<sup>120</sup> //

a(x+)1 ...  
 2 ...  
 3 ...  
 4 wo]rld he has plundered [  
 5 namely the despoilers (?) of the earth [  
 6 They agreed, namely the creatures of [  
 7 in them; they formed [Adam (?]  
 8 him against the world [  
 9 In their advent they erred [  
 10 mastered their lust [  
 11 from the souls; they changed the [  
 12 ... to these arts. // [?  
 13 consolation (of heart), he attained [  
 14 the porters. He gave the / thy [  
 15 hear the elements. //  
 16 The power of the God who ... [  
 17 of the world in the wish [  
 18 the time when they will rest [themselves  
 19 The wisdom of the perfect Father [  
 20 of the ligh[t] the twin [  
 21 of the rulers [...] the one that [  
 22 The suffering of the elements [  
 \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>118</sup> Perhaps ΔΛΦΔ

<sup>119</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 93,26

<sup>120</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 86,21 (ΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΝΙΑΤΜΟΘ)

23 the totality; the one that they ... [  
 24 the abyss in suffering [  
 25 of the door of his advent to [  
 26 In the Perfe[ct] Man [  
 27 strike in against [  
 28 until he receives this [  
 29 they ferry him [  
 30 of the lights. //

b(x+)31

32 ] and they help [  
 33 ] the building that will [  
 34 ]; the one that they build [  
 35 ] in, namely these hated ones; [  
 36 ] A great day of jo[y]  
 37 ] ...  
 38 of] glory; and they  
 39 ] for ever.  
 40 Ma]nichaios; the ... is this  
 41 ]; the inheritance is this  
 42 ] he taught (?) them from alpha  
 43 [to omega (?)<sup>121</sup>] Glory to the Father  
 44 ] his fruit, the one that is true;  
 45 Je]sus the Christ; and his  
 46 ] and every one who believes in him. //  
 47 [It is fin]ished.  
 (vac)  
 48 ] the sun and the moon, the towers<sup>122</sup>  
 49 ] ... of the busy champions  
 50 ] ... to the land of these immortals. //

**Format:**

The identification of the text as a Manichaean psalm/s is certain due to such factors as: the distinctive strophe indicators (indentation and // at each ending); the characteristic doxology (43 - 46 and see e.g. *PsBk 1*. 272,29? and 307,26? for similar); and the

<sup>121</sup> Perhaps a reference to Mani's *Living Gospel*. Cf. *Homs.* 94,18f

<sup>122</sup> In general the sun and moon are 'ships' in Coptic Manichaean tradition, whereas in Turkish and Chinese texts they are indeed named 'palace'. Cf. Sundermann 1992: 87



technical terminology (not least the naming of Manichaios himself). The positioning of the holes drilled for binding suggest that a continues over to b as a single text. Nevertheless, the original dimensions are uncertain and other solutions are possible. Note that the board is re-used.

As regards the original dimensions it is possible to suggest various reconstructions to carry from one line to the next, but it is difficult to find a consistent enough formula that bears any conviction of certainty.

As with other Kellis examples (e.g. P. Kell. Copt. 2) this psalm appears not to include the 'second' doxology that is so characteristic of the Medinet Madi codex<sup>123</sup>, e.g. 'Victory to the soul of the blessed Maria'; although this also can not be entirely certain. An unusual feature is the addition of an extra strophe in praise of the sun and moon after the conclusion of the psalm.

### **Comment:**

The discovery of this text in House 4 (A/6) was an important development in that it strongly suggests that Manichaeism was widespread in Kellis during the fourth century c.e., for this site is at a considerable distance from the earlier excavations at A/1-5 (from whence all the other Manichaean texts so far identified originate).

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<sup>123</sup> On the question of the Medinet Madi doxologies see recent studies by Coyle 1991: 51 - 53; Richter 1994: 16 - 17; Smagina 1994 (with a persuasive argument that dismisses 'Maria' as a textual corruption); and Wurst 1995: 55 - 61. The evidence of the Kellis psalms is summarised in Gardner 1995. Unfortunately, my own study was already in press when Smagina's and Wurst's appeared; and equally these authors did not have the benefit of a full survey of the Kellis psalms. The subject still needs to be revisited. In brief: the Kellis evidence from T.C. 7 and P.C. 2 shows on three occasions no trace of the 'second' doxology to Maria et al. If such were really to go back to a Syriac (or perhaps better 'Aramaic') original, it can only be so in a strictly limited number of instances. Only at T.C. 4 is there any suggestion of this 'second' doxology; but here the text is very poorly preserved. At P.C. 1 (text A) there is no doxology whatsoever. I was earlier inclined to regard this case as some kind of aberration; but it is perhaps better to take it at face value, clear proof that in this instance the entire Medinet Madi strophe is secondary. See also the comments by Wurst 1995: 58. In general, the Kellis material shows how the uniformity of the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* is an artificial construction imposed on originally disparate groups of texts.

**P. Kell. Copt. 1****Inv #** P 82A + P 64B + P 77B**Site:** House 3, room 6, levels 3 and 4, SE cnr and E wall**Description:** Single codex leaf in two hands (texts A and B). 112 x 110mm. Reconstructed from three fragments; the papyrus has been differently preserved, so that the upper and lower halves have distinct appearances. Also five further fragments are glassed here (see *infra*).Margins<sup>124</sup>: 11 - 10 - 10 - 10 (side a); 12 - 15 - 12 - 12 (side b).**Dialect:** *L*; but note the usage of conjugation base **ϩΔ-** for perfect; and **ερε ε / Δρε** in lines 6-7.**Content:** Manichaean psalms.

Text A (side a): end of a psalm with eschatological content, rejoicing in the victory of the soul (note feminine subject). Parallel to the latter part of Medinet Madi psalm 246 = Allberry 55: 3-13, but lacking any doxology. Allberry's text and reconstructions can be in part corrected.

Text B (side b): start of a psalm with characteristic account of the sacrifice of the First Man and his five sons. At present unidentified, though with many terms common to the Medinet Madi texts. First line is the refrain. Strophes are marked by designs.

**Purpose:** Liturgical or writing practice.**Authorship:** Unknown.**Text A:**

(&gt;):

a1	† <b>ⲛⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲉⲓ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲛ†ϩⲱⲕ</b>
2	ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ' ⲡϣⲁⲣⲡ̄
3	ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ' ⲡⲎⲤⲁϥϩⲱⲕ
4	ⲡⲉⲄⲉⲘⲱⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ // ⲉⲓϥ ⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉⲓ

<sup>124</sup> If not otherwise indicated the dimensions of margins are given in the order: upper, lh, rh, lower.

5 ρΔΕΙΘΒ̄ΙΔϞ ΕΙΣ ΤΣΕΤΕ Ν̄ΝΔΔΙΜΩΝ  
 6 ρΔΕΙ[Ω]ΨΜΕ Μ̄ΜΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΤΣΦΔΙΡΑ  
 7 ΚΩΤ[Ε] ΕΣΙΝΣ ΔΡΕ Ν̄ΟΥΔΕΙΝ ΣΩΤῆ Μ̄  
 8 [ΠΩΝΩ // ΤΨΤ]ΧΗ ΞΙ ΕΙΕΤΕ ΔΠΔΙ  
 9 ΣΕ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΩΡΩ ΝΤΕΜΟΡΦΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΜ[ΕΤ]  
 10 ρΔΠΩΩ ΔΡΑΣ ΕΙ\Σ/ ΝΕΕΙΔΤΕ ΣΕΜΟΤ[ΤΕ]  
 11 ΟΥΒ̄ΗΗ // ΤΕΤΑΛΟ ΔΝΔΔΗΤ<sup>125</sup> Μ[Π]  
 12 ΟΥΔΕΙΝ Ν̄ΤΕΔΙ Μ̄ΠΕΚΛΔΜ Ν̄[Ε]  
 13 ΔΤ Ν̄ΤΕΨΕ ΨΔ ΤΕΜ̄Ν̄ΤῆΡΟ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 14 ΡΕΨΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΤ  
 15 \* ρΔϞΔΩΚ \*

## Design

a1 I will bear up under these things until I fulfill  
 2 the will of my father. The First  
 3 Man is my father, the one who perfected  
 4 his struggle. Behold, the darkness,  
 5 I have humbled it! Behold, the fire of the demons,  
 6 I have [ex]tinguished it! The sphere  
 7 turns quickly, while the lights purify  
 8 [the life. So]ul, raise your eyes to the heights  
 9 and you see your form. Behold, the (mother ?),  
 10 you have (?) reached her. Behold, your fathers, they call  
 11 upon you. You go aboard my<sup>126</sup> ships of  
 12 light, and you receive your glorious crown,  
 13 and you go to your kingdom of  
 14 joy and all the aeons.  
 15 It is finished.

Medinet Madi / Allberry / Kellis:

55:3 ΔΙ]Β̄Ι ΔΡΗΝ̄Ι ρΔΝΕΪ ΨΔΝ̄†ΔΩΚ ΠΟΥΨ[Ε ΜΠΔΙΩΤ  
 Κ †ΝΔϞΕΙ ΔΡΗΝΕΙ ρΔ ΝΕΕΙ ΨΔΝ̄†ΔΩΚ Μ̄ΠΟΥΨΕ Μ̄ΠΔΕΙΩΤ

55:4 ΠΨΔΡΠ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΔΪΩΤ ΠΕΤΑΪΔΔ[Κ ΠΟΥΨΕ  
 Κ ΠΨΔΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΔΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΔΩΚ ΠῆΕΓΩΝ

<sup>125</sup> Probably correct to ΝΕΔΗΤ<sup>126</sup> Read 'your'.

55:5 αβ]αλ

κ αβδλ //

55:6 εις] πκεκε δ'ιθβ'ιαϥ εις τσετε η̄η̄ρδαλμ[ε διωϣ

κ εις πκεκει ρδειθβ'ιαϥ εις τσετε η̄η̄δαλμων ρδει[ω]ϣ

55:7 με] μᾱμας ερε τσφαιρα κωτε εςῑнс ερε [πρη δι

κ με̄ μᾱμας ερε τσφαιρα κωτ[ε] εςῑнс δρε η̄οσδαῑν

55:8 λπс]ωτ̄η̄ μᾱπωνρ`

κ σωτ̄η̄ μᾱ[π]ωνρ //

55:9 τψσϣ]η̄ βῑῑετε απ̄δισε η̄τε̄ῑωρρ` η̄τεμρρε [ . . . .

κ τψσ]ϣη̄ ϣῑ εῑετε απ̄δισε η̄τε̄εῑωρρ η̄τεμορφη̄ εις  
Giversen facs. ed. η̄τεμορφ[η̄

55:10 . . . ] . αρεπωρ αρас εις η̄εῑατε σεμοσ̄τε [αρο

κ τм[εσ] ραπωρ αρас ει\с/ η̄εῑατε σεμοσ̄[τε] οσβ̄η̄η̄ //

55:11 †η̄οσ τ]ελο ανεδησ̄ μᾱποσδαῑνε η̄τε̄δῑ μᾱπε[κ]λαμ

κ τεταλο̄ ανεδησ̄ м[π]οσδαῑν η̄τε̄δῑ μᾱπεκλαμ

55:12 η̄εα]σ̄ η̄τε̄ψε̄ η̄ε ατεμ̄η̄τρ̄ρο η̄τε̄ρε̄ψε̄ м[η̄]η̄αῑ

κ η̄[ε]ασ̄ η̄τε̄ψε̄ ψᾱ τεμ̄η̄τρ̄ρο η̄τε̄ ρε̄ψε̄ м̄η̄ η̄αῑ

55:13 ωη̄ τ]η̄ροσ̄

κ ωη̄ τη̄ροσ̄

κ \* ραϥδωκ \*

55:14 οσ̄εα]σ̄ м̄η̄οστᾱιο̄ μᾱη̄δᾱῑс πма̄η̄ῑχαῑοс [м̄η̄η̄εϥ

55:15 ϥωτ̄η̄ ετοσ̄αβε̄ м̄η̄τψσϣη̄ η̄тма̄κᾱριᾱ м[ма̄]ριᾱ

**Text B:**

(ˆ):

b16 εᾱσ̄ η̄ῑм̄ η̄εκ̄ м̄η̄ η̄εκε&lt;ι&gt;ωτ̄ \*

17 п̄ш̄ам̄ис̄ε̄ п̄ш̄ар̄п̄ η̄ρω̄ме̄<sup>127</sup> ε̄та̄εῑ пен̄<sup>127</sup> See PsBk 2. 36,21 Keph. 40,13



18            τΑΥΕΙ ΔΒΔΛ ρΝ ΤΜΕΘ ΜΠΩ<Νρ ρΝ<sup>128</sup>> Π  
 19            ϑΑΔΝΕ ΝΗΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟϑ<sup>129</sup> ΝΤΕ ΠΟϑ  
 20            ΔΕΙΝΕ ρΑΥΤΕΕϑ ΔΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΔΠΚΑϑ̄ Ν̄  
 21            ΠΚΕΚΕΙ ΨΑΝΤϑΜ<sup>130</sup> . [ . . . ] Ν̄ . . [ . ΤΗ ]  
 22            ΡΟϑ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΟϑ \* ΠΕϑ†Οϑ Ν  
 23            ΨΗΡΕ ΕΤΣΜΑΜΑΤ ρΑϑ† Μ̄[Μ]Δϑ  
 24            ρΑ ΝΔΙΩΝ Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄[Ν̄]ΤΑΤΜ[Οϑ]<sup>131</sup> ΠΔ  
 25            ΗΡ Μ̄Ν̄ Π<sup>132</sup>ΤΗΟϑ [Μ]Ν̄ Πϑϑ[ΔΕΙ]ΝΕ  
 26            Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΜΔϑ ΕΙΤ<sup>133</sup> ΔΝ[ . . . . . ]ϑ[ΕΤ]Ε<sup>134</sup> ΕΤ  
 27            Π[ . ]Μ̄\[[Ε]]<sup>135</sup>/Εϑ ΨΑΝΤϑΠΩΡΚ ΜΠΜΟϑ  
 28            ΔΒΔΛ ρΝ ΠΕϑΜΔ \*

b16            Every honour to you and your father!  
 17            The first-born, the great First Man, the one who  
 18            came out from the Mother of Life by the  
 19            counsel of all the aeons of the  
 20            light. He gave himself (was sent) down to the earth of  
 21            darkness so that he might [ ... ]  
 22            all the [ ... ] of death. His five  
 23            blessed sons, he gave them,  
 24            on behalf of the aeons of immortality. The aer  
 25            and the wind and the light  
 26            and the water [ ...  
 27            ... ] so that he might root out death  
 28            from his / its place.

<sup>128</sup> +ϑ ρ Ν +

<sup>129</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 22,31 - 23,1

<sup>130</sup> Perhaps ΜΟϑΡ 'bind'.

<sup>131</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 23,1

<sup>132</sup> The papyrus appears already to have been worn here and the scribe has left a space.

<sup>133</sup> The meaning is unclear. One expects the fifth light element: 'and the fire (Μ̄Ν̄ ΤϑΕΤΕ)'; or perhaps this is the verb (?).

<sup>134</sup> Perhaps 'fire' is here, but very uncertain.

<sup>135</sup> Added by a second hand.

**Format:**

This leaf evidently belonged to a codex for it contains the end of one psalm and the beginning of the next. The context of various psalms, and the variety of often unpractised hands, is similar to P. Kell. Copt. 2. The find site is also the same. However, the horizontal dimensions of the papyrus are different (although the vertical correspond well), and this makes it difficult to argue that all the pieces belonged to a single codex.

Nevertheless, the coarse production of the texts suggests a very local production. Also the construction of the codex / codices is problematic. I (IG) am inclined to the hypothesis that in some way these pieces (P. Kell. Copt. 1 and 2 and perhaps also 3) belong together and are the remains of what might best be termed a 'scrap-book' of Manichaean psalms. I suggest that it is the product of local catechumens, probably family members living in House 3, who undertook to copy out psalms as part of their spiritual praxis<sup>136</sup>. Such are the evident errors that it can hardly be regarded as a professional production; and it is also doubtful whether it was actually used for liturgy.

**Comment:**

The Kellis - Medinet Madi parallel with its variants strongly suggests that the Kellis version represents an earlier stage in the textual history. This is despite a number of apparent errors in P. Kell. Copt. 1 which are attributable to the very local and non-professional production. At line 5 the Kellis text preserves the better reading of  $\Delta\Delta\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}$ , for the  $\rho\Delta\lambda\text{M}\epsilon$  of Medinet Madi is presumably corrupt as it makes no real sense (despite Allberry's reference to 212,19 which is in fact rather different). Similarly the 3rd person sing. at line 3, with the First Man as subject, is preferable with a number of parallels<sup>137</sup>.

The total absence of any doxology in text A is a surprise. This might be regarded as an aberration, since the other examples from Kellis shows that the psalm tradition there did include the first and major doxology, though perhaps not the 'second' praising Maria and other figures<sup>138</sup>. However, it is perhaps better to take this as clear evidence that in this particular case the entire Medinet Madi doxology is secondary.

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<sup>136</sup> This view may be supported by one of the personal letters in Coptic (P 84) where Makarios instructs his son Matthaïos to diligently practise his psalms.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. *PsBk 1*. 176,31?

<sup>138</sup> See the comments *supra* (T.C. 7).

**Further fragments:**

Also glassed here are 5 further fragments listed as texts C-E: 2 ex P 50 (rm. 6 level 1), 1 ex P 92.15 (rm. 1a level 2), 1 ex P 92.16 (rm. 1a level 1), 1 ex P 37 (rm. 6 level 1). C + D may have the same hand on one side (^) as P. Kell. Copt. 1 text B, and may thus derive from another page of the same codex. However, the papyrus colour is again very different, and their relationship is unclear. E is evidently unrelated, but probably also a literary text from a codex, and published here for the sake of completeness.

**Text C:** 2 connected frgs. with similarities to A/B. Perhaps top corner of page.

Margin (^) 17 mm lh.

(>):

1		]	. . . .
2		]	ϞϞϞϞϞ ϞϞ
3		]	. ΝΤΕΚΩ . . . .
4		]	Ϟ ϞϞ Ϟ ϞΤ[

(^):

5		π	ε . [
6		ν	δ τ [
7		μ	ε ϙ . . τ . [
8		λ	α . λ ο Ϟ α . [
9		ρ	η τ ϙ // π ω ρ ϙ [
10		λ	[ . . . ] ρ . ε λ α Ϟ [

Plus a small third scrap, very similar to C; but unplaced.

**Text D:** 1 frg. from mid page. (^) has similarities to C, but (>) with ruled lines seems different.

(>):

1		]	π ν ο Ϟ [
2		]	/ π ρ ε η [
3		]	ν λ ι Ϟ <sup>139</sup> [
4		]	λ λ . [

<sup>139</sup> Perhaps one should read λ ι Ϟ λ ε here; but the term has not been recorded in the *Psalm-Book*, the most likely context for this fragment.

(^):  
5                   ] . . [  
6                   ] . ΤΟΤ . [  
7                   ]ΚΔCΕΗ[  
8                   ] . ΠΟΤΔ[  
9                   ] . ΗΟΤ[  
10                   ] . [  
.

**Text E:** Different hands each side to A - D. 1 frg. Lower corner.

(>):  
1                   τϥ[  
2                   σδ[

(^)  
3                                   ] .  
4                                   ]Δϥτε  
5                                   ]Ω Η  
6                                   ]ΔΕΙΗ  
7                                   ] . //



## P. Kell. Copt. 2

**Inv #** P 82Bi (ex P 34 + 38 + 40 + 93B) and P 82Bii (ex P 82B + 85D/F)

**Site:** House 3, room 7, level 2; room 7a, level 2; room 8, level 1 (= Bi); and room 6, level 4 SE cnr (= Bii).

**Description:** P 82Bii: The principal piece is the substantial remains of a bifolium from a papyrus codex (ex P 82), written in three hands (A, B, C). Two minor fragments have been added (ex P 85). With the vertical fibres behind (i.e. true verso) one reads: the end of text A (lh ^), the start of text B (lh >), the latter part or all of text C1 to the end (rh > continuing to ^). An unknown number of lost leaves would have separated B from C in the codex.

Lh page: 112 x 68mm (broken vertically with an extensive portion lost). Papyrus coated, traces of underlying text apparent. Text A is very faded. Text B is clear, and written in a careful if unexceptional hand.

Rh page: 114 x 120mm (mostly complete, though fragmentary). C is a cursive and very careless hand, unusual for a literary text.

P 82Bi: Also belonging to the codex are 9 fragments that are reconstructed (see photograph) to evidence a further page written by scribe C. This page contains the latter part or all of text C2 to the end (> continuing to ^), and then traces of 4 lines from the beginning of text C3 (^). Whether this page preceded C1 in the codex (in which case C3 could be the start of C1) or followed is unknown. However, without clear evidence here it is placed after, and C3 treated as a separate text.

Dimensions of the reconstructed page: 109mm vertical without lower margin, compare a total of 114mm for the bifolium (thus it is presumed that traces of all lines are evident). Margins: > lh 7mm, upper 7mm; ^ upper 12mm.

**Dialect:** L; but note the usage of conjugation bases for perfect, circumstantial and second present:  $\rho\alpha$ -  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  and  $\alpha\rho\epsilon$

**Content:** The remains of a codex of Manichaean psalms. Strong stylistic and terminological similarities to the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book* throughout. Text C1 is parallel to *PsBk 1*. pl. 277-278.

**Purpose:** Liturgical or writing practice as part of spiritual praxis.

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Frame:** P 82Bii

**Text A:**

(^)

1 . . . ε . . . . . πε . . . [  
 2 . . . . . ρ̄τε . [  
 3 . . σο . . . . . ḿ̄ηεκπαζριε  
 4 α . . ο . . . . . ψ . ḿ̄τε . . . [  
 5 . ε . . . ε . . . . . σετε . [  
 6 . . . . . ρ̄ . . . . . νε ḿ̄ . [  
 7 . . . . . ε . . . . . ḿ̄π̄ιωτ . [  
 8 . . . . . ϑιϑ ḿ̄ρ . . . . . [  
 9 η λα . . . . . ωψ . [  
 10 βρηε η . . . . . ḿ̄τε πνοσ̄τε [  
 11 τε ḿ̄ . . . . . [  
 12 . . . . . [  
 13 ḿ̄οσ̄ειν . . ε . . . . . [  
 14 ρ̄ḿ̄ . . . . . πη . . . . . ḿ̄οσ̄ . [  
 15 λος̄ . . . . . π . [  
 16 π̄τρ̄ο η . . . . . ψ̄ωτ̄[π  
 17 . . . σε . . . . . [  
 18 . . . ] . . . . . [  
 19 . . . ] . . . . . [  
 20 . . . . . ιε

**Text B:**

(>)

21<sup>140</sup> [ ḿ̄ηεκπαζριε ḿ̄ψ̄οϑιϑιηε ḿ̄ηε ρ̄ḿ̄  
 22 [ ρ̄αγ̄]τηνηασ̄ ψ̄αραν ḿ̄πεψ̄ηρηε:  
 23 [ ]σαν̄τηπε ḿ̄ḿ̄αισε τηροσ̄' σω̄τμηε  
 24 [ τ̄ḿ̄]τωβ̄ρ' ḿ̄μακ μα ηεν̄ḿ̄<sup>141</sup>: ρ̄ḿ̄ οσ̄  
 25 [ ]εε ḿ̄ḿ̄ κραγ̄ ḿ̄ρη̄τ̄ḿ̄' ηεπῑοσ̄μια  
 26 [ ]ωτ̄ αβαλ ḿ̄μασ̄: σε ḿ̄τακ πε

<sup>140</sup> R. G. Jenkins: traces of Greek (?) in a small hand (probably from the underlying text), perhaps ωξ̄' ...

<sup>141</sup> See Crum 216b

27 [ ]ϣ̄· Δ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΤΑΜ̄Ν̄ΤΚΟϚ̄Ι· †ϣ̄ΘΑΡΡΕ ΓΕ Ν̄  
 28 [ ]ϣ̄ ΠΑΔΑῙΣ: Π̄ΝΔΑῙΣ ΠΑΠΕΑϚ ρΑΝ  
 29 [ ]Ν|ΤΑϣ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΝ Ν̄ΒΟΗΘΟΣ·  
 30 [ ] ρ|ΔῙΝΑϚΤΕ ΔΡΑϚ ΤΗΡΟϚ Μ̄ΜϚΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ν̄  
 31 [ ] . Ν̄ . Ϛ[ . . ]Ϛ̄Τ̄Ν̄ Δ[ . . . . ] . Ε . . Εϣ̄ΜΟϚ  
 32 [ ] †ΜΟϚΤΕ ΟϚΒΗΚ ρ̄Ν̄ ΤΑΔΑΝΑΓΚΗ Μ̄Π̄Ρ  
 33 [ ] Δ|ΤΟΤΟϚ Ν̄ΝΑΔΙΔΕϚ Ν̄ΙΡΕϣϚΩΤΒ̄ Ν̄  
 34 [ ] ΤΗ|ΡΟϚ ρΑϚΚΙΜ ΤΑΨϚΧΗ ρ̄Ν̄ ΟϚΝΑΓ Ν̄  
 35 [ ] ΔϚΕῙΕ ΔΤΟΤΟϚ ΔΤΓΙΔ Ν̄ΝΑΔΙΔΕϚ:  
 36 [ ] Μ̄ΜΕϚΕ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΠΑϚΑΝϚΟϚΝ· ΙΕ ρΑϚ  
 37 [ ] ρϚΕ ΔΝΟϚΟϚΕ Ν̄ΒΑΚΜΕΤ`ΟϚΕ<sup>142</sup>:  
 38 [ ] Μ̄ ρ̄Ν̄ ΝΕϚΚΑΤΑΚΛϚΣΜΟϚ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΜΟϚ·

21 ] the lord of all nature; that in  
 22 ] he sent to us his son  
 23 ] above all the heights. Hear  
 24 ] we implore thee: Give him to us! In a  
 25 ] there is no guile in him; the lusts  
 26 ] them. For thou art  
 27 ] since my youth. I am confident then  
 28 ] my lord. Our lord, the glorious one, we  
 29 ] he who will become a helper to us  
 30 ] I have believed them all, the mysteries of  
 31 ] ...  
 32 ] I call unto thee in my need; do not  
 33 ] to the hands of my enemies, these murderers  
 34 ] all of them, they shook my soul in great  
 35 ] fall into their hands, the hand of my enemies  
 36 ] the thoughts which are within me. Then they  
 37 ] the poison stinging scorpions  
 38 ] with their floods of death

### Text C1

This psalm is parallel to *PsBk I*. 277,1 - 278,(x+)<sup>5</sup>. Unfortunately this belongs to that part of the facsimile edition where the codex leaves have not been ordered<sup>143</sup>, nor have the psalm numbers been established. The number of this psalm is not known.

<sup>142</sup> See Crum 196a

<sup>143</sup> Giversen 1988: XIII

A study of the facsimile shows traces of the characteristic doxology at the end of pl. 276: **Τ|ΨΥΧΗ Ν̄ . . . | ΤΜ|ΔΚ|Δ|Ρ|Γ|Α Μ|ΑΡ|Γ|Α** ('the soul of ... the blessed Maria'). If in fact 277 follows 276 (which is by no means certain), then the Medinet Madi parallel to text C1 must begin at the first line (now lost) of pl. 277. It continues to line (x+)<sup>5</sup> on pl. 278 where the beginning of a new psalm is visible<sup>144</sup>.

It might be supposed that the first line of the Kellis text is the incipit. However, this is not necessarily so, since the previous page of the Kellis codex is lost. It would also seem (as far as it is readable!) to be an uncharacteristic and awkward opening to a psalm. Nevertheless, traces of thirty lines are evident on pl. 277, and with a general calculation for an original page of about 32 lines there would seem to be little room for text prior to the extant opening for text C1; if the psalm must start on pl. 277.

I (IG) am therefore inclined to suggest that 277 does not follow 276, and thus that the beginning of the psalm in both versions must be sought elsewhere. As regards the Kellis version the start could be the text edited below as C3, presuming then that the reconstructed page P 82Bi immediately precedes C1 on P 82Bii. This is possible, but it seems better not to suppose this without supporting evidence. Such evidence would be the start of C1 or C3 at the very end of a Medinet Madi page. One possibility is pl. 270 where **ΨΕ ΔΠΙΤΗ** can be read at the penultimate line (see P.C. 2,40). However, there appears to be too much space (at minimum 4 lines) to where is read **ΝΕΘΚΟΤΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΘΝΔΓ** considering that this corresponds to only 2 lines in the Kellis text.

For the moment it seems that these questions must remain unresolved, at least until there is a critical edition of the *PsBk I*.

(>)

39 ΠΤΔΚΟ ΕΥΡΚΡΔ . ΝΕΘ̄ |  
 40 ρΔΕΙΨΕ ΔΠΙΤΗ̄ ΔΡΔΘ ρΔΕΙΨΩ[ΠΕ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
 41 †ΜΑΡΟΘ ΔΠΕΘΤΕ // ρΔΘ̄ . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ΝΕΘ̄]  
 42 ΚΟΤΕΙ ΜΗ̄ ΝΕΘ̄ΝΔΓ ρΔΕΙΨΩΠΕ ρ̄Ν̄ η̄<sup>145</sup> . [ . . . ] . Τρ . . .  
 43 ϚΔΘ ΕΤρΙ ΠΔΔΕΙΕ // ρΔΘ̄ΩΚ̄ Μ̄ΜΔΕΙ Ν̄ . ΔϚΕ ρΔϚΡ  
 44 Δ̄ΙΡΕΤ Ν̄ΔΙ ΠΔΨΩϚ ρΔΕΙΨΩΠΕ̄ Ν̄ΤρΕ ΝΗΠΔρ .  
 45 Δ̄Ι ρΔΡΩΘΘ̄ Ν̄ΗΘΙΡΕΙΘ̄Η // ρΔΘ̄ΚΩΤΕ ΔΡΔΕΙ ΤΗ

<sup>144</sup> Giversen's suggestion that a psalm begins in mid 277 is shown to be incorrect.

<sup>145</sup> Or Τ



46 ροῦ ἀσπ̄ρητοῦ ἡδὶ τοῦνεσε<sup>146</sup> ῥασῶρτ<sup>147</sup> ἀροῦν ἀ  
 47 ραι ἡτρε ἡνιοσωνψ ἡρεψτωρπ // σοῦραχῶ  
 48 ῥῆ τεῦσετε ῥασεστ<οῦ> οῦετοῦ μμαει ἀσμοσε δασ  
 49 ναβιῆε πα[ . . . ] ἡ . ης : ῥασψιτψ ἡτοτοῦ //  
 50 ηε . [ . . . . . ] εῦεωοῦε ἀσπ̄ρητοῦ ἡδὶ τοῦ  
 51 ῥῆβε εῦβε πεῖνε ἄπε . . ἀψ πεῖνταψμαροῦ ῥῆ  
 52 τεψμριρε // ῥαειμαρε ἡρητοῦ τηροῦ . . η  
 53 †κε . [ . ] ψ μῆ τεῦηοῦνε ῥαεισωδε ἄπεειβ  
 54 μπμοῦ πψην ετσαψε μῆ πεψοῦταῶ //  
 55 οῦ . . . ῥασει ηηὶ ἀβαλ ῥῆ τερεειτ<sup>148</sup> ῥασψω  
 56 πε ῥρηῖ ἡρητ ῥασρ̄πα[ῶ]ρε [ἀναψ]ῆδα //  
 57 ημας[τε] τηροῦ ῥα . . . . . [ . ] ῥιτῆ πψνοῦψ<sup>149</sup>

(Λ)

58 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . η [ῥαψ]†τοτ ῥαψῆτ  
 59 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] ετιῶε πμηῆε<sup>150</sup> μη  
 60 [στ]ἀῦροϛ . [ . . . . . ] . . . τηροῦ ῥαειψωπε  
 61 [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . μπεστλκο  
 62 [ . . . ] εῦ ῥ . . [νο]ῦς η . . ειωρῶ ἡταμορφη μπ  
 63 . [ . . ] ηε . τρικων τεεῖ ετ[ψ]οοπ ῥῆ παηρ  
 64 [ . . . . ] . . . ψηρε ἄπρω[μ]ε πεντα<σ>ψωψτ  
 65 [α]ραψ δῆῆ ἡψαρπ ἀ[η]ακ ἀη παλψαρπ  
 66 [η]ρωμε πενταψτων . . . . .  
 67 ῥεις πα[ι]ωτ ἀνακ ῥα . <sup>151</sup>ῥωκ [ . . . . . ]  
 68 ἀβαλ ἡ . [ . . . . ] δαδε . . [ . α]ραῦ πετετ . .  
 69 ῥα[ . ] . . [ . . . . . ] . ο . [ . ] . . . ἡ . . [ . . . . ]  
 70 εῦα [ ἀπῆ]δα[ι]ς [πμα]η[ι]χα[ι]ο[ι]ς [μη] [ηψ]  
 71 ϛωτῆ [ετοῦ]ῶε μῆ ηψκ[α]θηκῶ  
 72 μενο[ς] ῥαψδωκ

Design

<sup>146</sup> See *Keph.* 210,17.27 212,5 221,8 and Kasser 252a 'querelle (?)'.

<sup>147</sup> See *Keph.* 244,9 and Kasser 704b 'saiser, arrêter (?)'.

<sup>148</sup> For ταρεῖτε

<sup>149</sup> Read ψ(ᾰ)νοῦψε

<sup>150</sup> For μεῖνε

<sup>151</sup> There does not appear to be space for (ῥα)ει

Medinet Madi / Kellis parallel:

In the tentative parallel text established below, it is assumed for the sake of example that there is only one line missing at the top of pl. 277, and that text C1 does include the beginning of the psalm. The calculated parallel text indicates strongly that text C1 finishes two lines earlier than the Medinet Madi version. Presumably it lacks a final ('second') doxology praising Mary and others.

277:1 - [

Κ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΕΤΡΚΡΑ . <sup>152</sup> ΝΕΤ [

The destruction, as they [ ... ] for them [ ... ]

277:2 [ ] . . . [

Κ ΨΔΕΙΨΕ ΔΠΙΤḲ ΔΡΑΤ ΨΔΕΙΨΩ[ΠΕ

I went down to them; I bec[ame ...

277:3 [ ] . ΤΕΡΓΙ . .

Κ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] †ΜΑΡΟΤ ΔΠΕΤΤΕ //

] bind them to their time (?)<sup>153</sup>

277:4 [ ΚΙΘΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΤ . . . . .

Κ ΨΔΤ . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ΝΕΤ]ΚΟΤΕΙ ΜḲ ΝΕΤΗΔΓ ΨΔΕΙ

They have [ ... ] their small and their great. I

277:5 [ ] . Τ ΕΤ . . ΠΔΔΙΕ

Κ ΨΩΠΕ ΨḲ Π . [ . . . ] . ΤΨ . . . ΨΑΤ ΕΤΨΙ ΠΔΔΙΕ //

came to be in the [ ... ] sheep (?) that are in the desert.

277:6 [ ]Τ ΝΔΙ ΠΔΨΩC

Κ ΨΑΤCΩΚ ḲḲΔΕΙ Ḳ . Δ . . ΨΑΨΡΞΙΡΕΤ ḲΔΙ ΠΔΨΩC

They drew me [ ... ] he made [ ... ]<sup>154</sup> me, namely my shepherd.

<sup>152</sup> Perhaps **Ḳκρραϥ** 'as they lie in wait for them'.

<sup>153</sup> This is not very satisfactory, nor does it accord with the Medinet Madi traces; perhaps the text should be emended.

<sup>154</sup> Sense unclear, unless one were to derive it from **ḲΔωρε** (!) 'be strong'.

- 277:7 [ . . . . ΝΙΘΗΡΓΩΝ  
 Κ ραειψωπε ν̄τρε κηπαρ . α! ραρωοσ ν̄νηθιρεειον //  
 I became like these [ ... ] beneath these beasts.
- 277:8 [ . . . . ] . ἴ ασπωτ α  
 Κ ρασκωτε αραι τ̄ηροσ +ᾱς̄ν̄ρητοσ ν̄αι τοσνεγε+<sup>155</sup>  
 They have all surrounded me<sup>156</sup> [ . . . ] They ran to
- 277:9 [ραϊ . . . . ρεϑτωρη  
 Κ ρασρωρη αροση αραι ν̄τρε ν̄νηοσωνψ ν̄ρεϑτωρη //  
 me. They seized upon me, like these ravenous wolves<sup>157</sup>.
- 277:10 [ ρητοσ ναι τοσνεγε ασ  
 Κ ᾱς̄ν̄ρητοσ ν̄αι τοσνεγε ρασ  
 ... ] it being in them, namely their anger. They have
- 277:11 [ . . . . . σρε ν̄ρεϑσα . π<sup>158</sup>  
 Κ<sup>159</sup>  
 ] ...
- 277:12 [ ]δεστοσ . . ετοσ μ̄μα!  
 Κ σοσραχρ ρ̄ν̄ τεσσετε ρασδεσ<οσ> οσετοσ μ̄μαει  
 They burn in their fire<sup>160</sup>. They exalted themselves over me
- 277:13 [ . . . . . ] . νετ . . ν̄τ . . . σ̄βιτγ . . [ . . . ]  
 Κ ασμοσε δασναγιηε πα[ . . . ] ν̄ . ης . ρασγιτγ  
 ν̄τοτοσ //  
 thinking that they would find [ ... ] They took it from them.

<sup>155</sup> Corrupt text. The Kellis scribe has transposed the text from two line below = Med. Madi 277,10

<sup>156</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 54,13

<sup>157</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 93, 6; and Mt. 7:15

<sup>158</sup> Perhaps from **σωλπ** 'to break', see the nominal form at *PsBk* 2. 96,20

<sup>159</sup> This strophe appears to have been missed by the Kellis scribe, apart from the transposed clause above.

<sup>160</sup> See *PsBk* 2. 54,18

277:14 ] . λ . . . . . τοϥϩ . . [ . . . . . ] .  
 . [ . ] .

κ **νη** . [ . . . . . ] **εϥϩωοϩ ρ ρ̄νητοϥ ν̄χι τοϥρη̄βε**  
**ετ̄βε**

[ ... ] as they gather; it being in them, namely their grief, because of

277:15 [ . . . . . ] **μ̄π̄**[ . . . . . ] . ϥ **πεταϩμαροϥ ρ̄νη τεϩμ̄ρρε**

κ **πε̄ινε μ̄πε . . ρ̄ πε̄νταϩμαροϥ ρ̄νη τεϩμ̄ρ̄ρε //**

the likeness of ... He is the one who bound them with his chain

277:16 **[ΔΙΜ] ρ̄ε . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . †κ . . τοϥ μ̄νη τεϥνοϥ**

κ **ρ̄αιμαρ̄ε ν̄ρητοϥ τηροϥ . . η̄κε . [ . ] ϥ<sup>161</sup> μ̄νη τεϥνοϥ**

I journeyed in them all [ ... ] and their root.

277:17 **[νε] ρ̄ι . . . . . μ̄π̄μοϥ π . . . ετ̄σαϣε μ . [**

κ **νε ρ̄αισωδε μ̄πειβ̄ μ̄π̄μοϥ π̄ψη̄ν ετ̄σαϣε μ̄νη**

I have cut<sup>162</sup> the sting of death<sup>163</sup>; the bitter tree<sup>164</sup> and

277:18 . . . ] . . .

κ **πεϩοϥταρ̄ //**

its fruit.

277:19 [ . . . . . ] . ε . . . . ρ̄βαλ̄ ρ̄νη ταρεῑτε ρ̄ϣ . . . . ρ̄ρη

κ **ϥ . . .<sup>165</sup> ρ̄σεῑ ν̄η̄ι ρ̄βαλ̄ ρ̄νη τερεῑτ̄ ρ̄σ̄ωπε ρ̄ρη̄ι**

... it came to me from my kin, it came to be

277:20 [ . . . . . ] . . παρ̄ρε̄ ρ̄ναϣ̄γα

κ **νη̄η̄τ̄ ρ̄ᾱρ̄π̄ᾱ[ρ̄]ρε̄ [ρ̄ναϣ̄]γᾱ //**

within me, it healed my wounds.

<sup>161</sup> The sense is unclear to me despite the evident parallel. Note also the † at the start of line 41

<sup>162</sup> See *PsBk 1.* 132,22? 227,30? *PsBk 2.* 79,28 162,31 - 163,1 // 178,7- 8

<sup>163</sup> I Cor. 15:55

<sup>164</sup> See *PsBk 2.* 144,19

<sup>165</sup> It is tempting to read **ϥϥλ̄η** but the traces are not convincing; and *hyle* is most definitely not of the same race as the soul, nor indeed the cure of pain but rather the cause.



277:21 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . Ϯ αϮρωϮϷ οϮβε πϫμῆοϮϫε . . . . .  
 κ ΝΜΔϸ[ΤΕ] ΤΗΡΟϮ Ϸα . . . . . [ . ] ϷΙΤῆ ΠϫΝΟϮϫ [ . . . . .  
 . ] . [ . . . . . ]<sup>166</sup>

All the (hatreds?), they have gathered against (?) the good news [ ...

277:22 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . αϫϳΤΟΟΤ αϫῆΤ αϷρηῆ μῆ Ν . [ . . ] . . . . .  
 κ . . . . . ] . . . . . η [Ϸαϫ]ϳΤΟΤ ϷαϫῆΤ [ . . . . . ] . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 ] he helped me, he brought me up with [ ... ]

277:23 [ . . . . . ] ΜΕῖΝΕ ΜΠϸΤΑϮΡΟϸ αϮϫαϮλε Ϸαρα . . . . .  
 κ ΕΤῬε ΠΜΗῆε ΜΠ[ϸΤ]αϮροϸ . [ . . . . . ] . . . . ΤΗΡΟϮ  
 because of the mark of the cross. They have supported them all.

277:24 [αΙϫ]ωπε . . . [ . ] . . . . . ε . . . . . α . [ . . . ] . . . [ . ] . . .  
 κ ϷΔΕΙϫωπε [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . ΜΠΕϮΤΛΚΟ //  
 I became [ ... ] their healing<sup>167</sup>

277:25 [ . . . . . ] . Ϸῆ ΠΕΝΟϮϸ ῆΤΕῖωρη ῆΤΕΜ[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] .  
 κ [ . . . ] ε Ϸ . . [ΝΟ]Ϯϸ Ν . . ΕΙωρη ῆΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ ΜΠ . [ . . ] Νε  
 .<sup>168</sup>  
 [ ... ] in thy mind and perceive my / thy<sup>169</sup> form of [ ... ],

277:26 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ΤΕῖ ΕΤϫΟΟΠ Ϸῆ ΠΔΗΡ  
 κ ΤϷΙϫΩΝ Τεεῖ ΕΤ[ϫ]ΟΟΠ Ϸῆ ΠΔΗΡ //  
 the image, this one who exists in the atmosphere.

277:27 [ . . . . . ] . . ϫῆρε ΜΠρωμε ΕΤαϮϫωϫΤ . . αϫ Δῆ  
 κ [ . . . . . ] . . Πϫῆρε ΜΠρω[Μ]ε ΠΕΝΤΑϸϫωϫΤ [α]ραϫ ΔΙῆ  
 [ ... ] the son of Man. They have committed fault against him since

<sup>166</sup> The Kellis version would seem here to have contained rather more text than can be accounted for in the Med. Madi parallel.

<sup>167</sup> For ΤΛϸΟ Or read ΤΔΚΟ ‘destruction’. Note also the strange α in the following line:  
 ΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ

<sup>168</sup> It is difficult to read ΟϮΔΙΝΕ here.

<sup>169</sup> There seems to be some corruption in the text. Presumably one should read: ‘Ascend (?) in thy mind and thou (soul) perceive thy ...’

277:28 [ . . . . ] . ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ . . ⲩⲁⲣⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲓⲥ[ⲉ . . . ] . . ⲧⲠⲚ  
 ⲕ ⲛ̅ⲩⲁⲣⲛ ⲁ[ⲛ]ⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲩⲁⲣⲛ [ⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛ  
 the beginning. I also am of the First Man<sup>170</sup>, the one who endured<sup>171</sup>

277:29 [ . . . . ] . . ⲁϥ .  
 ⲕ . [ . . . . . . . . . ] //  
 ...

277:30<sup>172</sup>[ . . . . . . . . . ] . [ . ]ϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥϥⲱⲣⲙⲉ . . . . . ⲛⲠϥ  
 ] who has led astray [ ...  
 ⲕ ϥⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁ[ⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ϥⲁ . ϥⲱϥ [ . . . . . . . . . ] ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ . [ . .  
 Behold my father, I have (?) perfected [ ... ]

277:31 [ . . . . . . . . . . ]ⲩⲭⲣ̅ⲥ ⲁⲛⲧ . [ . ] . . [ . . . ] . . . . . . . . . .  
 ] Christ [ ...  
 ⲕ . . ]ϥⲁⲃⲉ . . [ . ⲁ]ⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧ . . ϥⲁ[ . ] . . [ . . . . . . . . . ] . Ⲡ .  
 enemies [ ...

278:1 [ . . . . ] traces [  
 ⲕ [ . ] . . . . ⲛ̅ . . [ . . . . . . . . . ]  
 ...

278:2 . [ . . ] . . [ . . ]ⲉ . . . . . [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 ⲕ ⲉⲁϥ [ⲁⲡⲛ̅]ϥⲁⲓ[ⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲭⲁⲓⲟ[ⲥ] ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ [ⲛϥ]ϥⲱⲧⲛ̅  
 [ⲉⲧⲠϥ]ⲁⲃⲉ  
 Glory to our master the living Mani; and his holy elect

278:3 . [ . . ] . . . . . ϥ . . . . . . . . . . [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 ⲕ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛϥϥ[ⲁ]ⲑⲏϥⲟϥⲙⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ] ] ϥⲁϥϥⲱϥ  
 and his catechumens. It is finished.

<sup>170</sup> Medinet Madi reads 'first born', which seems prior. This is probably a simple lapse by the Kellis scribe, occasioned by the line above.

<sup>171</sup> ⲧⲠⲚ ϥⲁ/

<sup>172</sup> No real parallel between the Kellis and Medinet Madi texts is apparent from here on, although with the fragmentary state of the text little can be presumed. It does appear certain that the 'second' doxology praising Maria and other martyrs (?) is not present in the Kellis version, noting that the Med. Madi psalm continues to 278,5; unless the two versions are not a true parallel, but rather a 'doublet' of psalms. Such an instance is found in *PsBk 2*; see the comparison in Wurst 1995: 48 - 49

278:4 [ . . . ] . π . . ο σ . . . . . [

278:5 [ . . . ] . . . . . [

## Frame: P 82Bi

## Text C2

(&gt;)

73 [ ρ ] α σ ρ ε ψ ε ζ ε . [ . . . . . ] σ μ π σ [ . . . ]  
 74 ρ α σ ρ ω β ρ ρ ε ' [ . . . . . ] . . μ φ [ . . . ]  
 75 μ π η ο σ τ ε ζ α . [ . . . . . ] . ε μ π [ . . . ]  
 76 ζ α σ ε π ι . [ . . . . . ] π ε ρ α [ . . . ]  
 77 η μ π ε τ μ [ . ] σ ρ [ . . . . . ] . με ρ η̄ . [ . . . ]  
 78 ε φ η α τ α . [ . . . . . ] . φ ι μ π ε . [ . . . ]  
 79 [ . . . ] . η̄ η ε τ . [ . . . . . ] ε . α λ . [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
 80 [ . . . . . ] . λ ρ ο σ τ μ π . [ . . . ]  
 81 [ . . . . . ] // vac . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] η μ μ ε φ η̄ [ . . . ]  
 82 [ . . . . . ] ω ρ ε α . [ . . . . . ] κ α ρ ρ α ρ ο σ α [ . . . ]  
 83 [ . . . . . ] ε ι η ε ρ [ . . . . . ] . . . . . α ρ . [ . . . . . ]  
 84 [ . . . . . ] . μ . [ . . . . . ] α β α λ η̄ ρ ε ε σ τ ε [ . . . . . ]  
 85 [ . . . . . ] η ε ι σ [ . . . . . ] . α τ . . . . . α σ η α ψ † ρ [ τ ρ̄ ]  
 86 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . π ι α . . ρ π ψ η ρ ε [ . . . ]  
 87 [ . . . . . ] . ζ . . . [ . . . . . ] η μ ψ σ χ α ο σ [ ε . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
 88 [ . . . ] ρ ε ρ η̄ η̄ . . [ . . . . . ] ρ α σ ζ . . . . ρ β α λ . [ . . . . . ]  
 89 [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] μ . κ α ρ [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ]  
 90 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] π μ α η̄ .  
 91 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . α κ η̄ . .  
 92 [ . . . . . ] . ε . . . [ . . . . . ] . ο σ ζ . [ . . . ] .

(^)

93 [ . . . ] ζ ε η̄ λ [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . . . ε τ ρ α .  
 94 [ . . . ] α β α λ μ [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . π κ [ ο ] ς μ ο σ †  
 95 [ . . . ] φ ε τ ε π [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . σ α . μ π η ε  
 96 [ . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ] α . [ . . . ] η̄ α σ ζ α ε ι τ ε  
 97 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . ο . [ . . . ] ε ρ ο σ η ε η  
 98 [ . . . . . ] . . κ . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . κ α σ . . [ . . ]  
 99 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ε τ [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 100 [ . . . . . ] . ε ι ε . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ] . . ι ε [ . . . . . ]  
 101 [ . . . . . ] ε τ α . α . . . . [ . . . . . ] . π η ο . [ . . . . . ]  
 102 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ο μ [ . . . . . ] . ο σ σ [ . . . . . ]

103 [ . . . . . ] ΝΕ ΕΤΑΘ[ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 104 [ . . ] . ΙΩΤ Π̄ΝΔ[ΔΙ]Ϛ Π[Π]ΔΡΔ[ΚΛΗΤΟΣ] Π[ΜΝΧ̄Σ Π]  
 105 [Π̄Ν]Δ̄ Π̄ΤΕ ΤΜΗΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΥϚ[ΩΤΠ] ΕΤΟΣΔΒΕ [ΤΗΡΟΣ]  
 106 [ . . ] Μ̄Π̄ ΝΥΚΑΘΗΚΟΣΜΕΝ[ΟΣ] Μ̄Π̄ΝΔϚ[ΤΕ end]  
 107 [                     ] design Z Z ϚΔϚ[Δ]ΩΚ [

**Text C3**

108 [Ε]ΙϚ ΤΝ[ . . . ] Π[ . . . ] ΕΤΔΝϚ Δ[ . . . ] Λ ΝΗΙ Π[ . . . . . ]  
 109 . ΣΕ ΕΙϚΟ . [ . . . . . ] ΠΣΩ[ . . . ] . ϚΔϚϚ[ . . . . . ]  
 110 ϚΔΕΙΝΔΔ . [ . . . . . ] ΕΙ[ . . . . . ] .̄ [ . ] . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 111 [ . ] Π . . ΚΔΙΕΤ[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . vac

**Comment:**

**Text A:** There is little coherent sense to be read from this badly damaged text. The context suggests that it is a psalm, and the indented ΠΤΕΡΟ at line 16 could well indicate the start of the familiar doxology, e.g. 'Victory to you Manichaios (*PsBk 1. 241,26*)'. Of course this form is odd (maybe a causative form for ΠΕΡΟ as per ΤΑΔΡΟ), if indeed the Τ should be read at all; but perhaps see *Keph. 80,24*. Further in line 16 can be read ϚΣΩΤ[ This could well be reconstructed to a common phrase in the doxologies: Μ̄Π̄ ΝΕΥΣΩΤ̄Π̄ ΕΤΟΣΔΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΣ ('and all his holy elect'). Of course the supposition that this is the doxology receives further support from the fact that overleaf is in a different hand, and thus presumably a new text (i.e. B).

In line 20 there appears to be two solitary letters (ΙΕ) placed mid line. Their significance is unclear, but seem most likely to be a number (15).

**Text B:** Here is almost certainly the start of a Manichaean psalm. It begins with a communal entreaty to God who has sent his son<sup>173</sup>. The tone becomes more personal, an assertion of faith, and a prayer of supplication in the face of death and its horrors.

Much of the terminology can be paralleled in the *Psalm-Book*, especially the psalms to Jesus<sup>174</sup>. For instance:

<sup>173</sup> Praise for the one who is sent (Τ̄Π̄ΝΔϚ) is common in the opening strophes of a number of these psalms to Jesus; e.g. *PsBk 1. 265,29? 273,27?*

<sup>174</sup> *PsBk 2. 49,1 - 97,13*



I have forsaken the world and its error, I have l[oved my sa]viour, prayed, fasted, given alms [... since] my youth (ΖΗ ΝΤΑΜΝΤΚΟΘΪ); because of the hour of need (ΔΗΔΥΚΗ). [Come] no[w my] lord Jesus, and help me (ΠΑΖΔΪΣ ΙΗΣ ΝΚΡΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΔΡΑΪ)<sup>175</sup>.

The references to death and its creatures also recall the *Hymn-Cycles* in Parthian. For instance:

Rich friend of the beings of Light! In mercy  
grant me [strength and] succour me with every gift!

Array [my soul], O Lord! respond to me!  
[Succour me] in the midst of the foe!

Make pass from me all the ravages  
of their deceitful body, that tortures me with pain.

You are the friend, praised and beneficent!  
Free me from ...

My soul weeps within,  
and cries out [at each] distress and stab.

And the hour of life and this carrion-form  
is ended for me, with (its) turbulent days.

It was tossed and troubled as a sea with waves.  
Pain was heaped on pain, whereby they ravage my soul<sup>176</sup>.

(21) ‘The lord of all nature (ΠΖΔΙΣ ΜΦΥΣΙΣ ΝΙΜ)’ seems an unusual epithet for God, presuming a Manichaean context. The doctrine of the ‘Two Principles’ is the absolute touchstone of Mani’s teachings; and φύσις is often the term used:

When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of truth; and taught us that there are two natures (ΦΥΣΙΣ ΚΝΤΕ), that of light and that of darkness, [they being separa]te from one another since the beginning<sup>177</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> *PsBk 2. 57,23-26*, transl. adapted; and see 1,5-9 etc.

<sup>176</sup> From *Angad Rōshnān* ed. M. Boyce, as quoted in Asmussen 1975: 88

<sup>177</sup> *PsBk 2. 9,9-11*, transl. adapted; and see 26,29

However, the language of devotion is often far less dualistic than the strict doctrine<sup>178</sup>. The Medinet Madi texts do use the epithet: ‘The lord of everything (ΠΖΔΙ΄C ΛΠΤΗΡϣ<sup>179</sup>)’; and in the *PsBk I.* there occurs the phrase: ‘Glory to you, the father of many natures (ϥϥCIC ETNΔΨΩC<sup>180</sup>) ...’.

(22) i.e. Jesus as the ‘son of God’. In the Medinet Madi texts he (also his doublet the First Man) is ‘first-born’ and ‘only-begotten’, ‘sent (Τ̄Ν̄ΝΔϥ)’ to the world<sup>181</sup>.

(28) ΠΔ/Π̄Ν̄ΖΔΙ΄C ΠΔΠΕΔϥ Common titles for both Jesus and Mani in the Medinet Madi texts.

**Text C1:** Although this psalm is not well preserved, in either the Kellis or Medinet Madi versions, the general similarity in terminology and phrasing to published pieces is again striking. In particular (and throughout P.C. 1 - 3) there are again many parallels with the psalms to Jesus; such that one must reckon with a common author, or at least a common school of translation into Coptic, for many of these pieces<sup>182</sup>.

**Text C2:** Unidentified Manichaean psalm with characteristic doxology and ending (104 - 107):

‘[Glory to our] father, our master the paraclete, [Mani the living, the spirit] of truth; and [all] his holy [elect ...] and his catechumens of the faith.  
It is finished.

**Text C3:** Start of an unidentified Manichaean psalm (108):

‘Behold! We [praise?] the living [ ...’

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<sup>178</sup> See also Koenen 1990

<sup>179</sup> E.g. *Keph.* 40,10 156,6. Admittedly, this has a somewhat different ring, especially when translated as the gnostic ‘the All’.

<sup>180</sup> *PsBk I.* 317, last line.

<sup>181</sup> See Gardner 1991: 78

<sup>182</sup> This is not to negate e.g. Wurst (1995: 51 and passim) who has argued strongly for the disparate origins of the Manichaean psalms, and for an extended redaction process leading to the Medinet Madi codex. The finds at Ismant el-Kharab undoubtedly support this position. Contrast Villey 1994

## P. Kell. Copt. 3

Inv # P 92.17a

Site: House 3, room 11, level 2

**Description:** Single double sided fragment from the centre of a codex leaf; 29 x 50mm.  
Some similarity to the hand of P. Kell. Copt. 1 text A.

**Dialect:** Probably *L*.

**Content:** Manichaean devotional text, probably a psalm with strophe break indicated at line a3.

**Text:**

Side a (^):

1           ετψοο|π̄ ρ̄μ̄ παηρ . [  
2           ] . ςωμα πειωτ [  
3           |ϣ>> μ̄πωρ̄ρ̄[  
4           ]ηδδδδε εττκ`τα<sup>183</sup>[  
5           π|ει γαρ ηε . . οσα[

Side b (&gt;):

6           ] ηεσ απτηρϣ [  
7           ] δβδλ ρ̄ν̄ ποσδει|η  
8           ] μ̄πεεασ ρ̄δειοσδ|ηρ  
9           ] ετβε πεινε ετκητ<sup>184</sup> [  
10          τ|ωβρ` μ̄μο ταψ̄σ̄χ|η  
11          ετ|δδσε . [ . . . ] . . . . . [

a1           ] in the atmosphere [  
2           ] body, the Father [  
3           ]           Do not ... [  
4           ] my enemies who surround (?) [  
5           ] for this is ... [

<sup>183</sup> Perhaps causative of **ΚΩΤΕ**, see Crum 407b and *PsBk* 2. 58,14

<sup>184</sup> **ΚΗΤ**<sup>+</sup> attested at *Keph.* 152,27; alternatively **ΚΗ**<sup>+</sup> from **ΚΩ**

- b6 ] them entirely [  
7 ] from the light [  
8 ] of thy glory, I have revealed (?) [  
9 ] because the likeness that is built (?) [  
10 ] entreat thee, my soul [  
11 ] is exalted ... [

**Comment:**

(a1) perhaps the Judge (κριτήρ) who is in the atmosphere<sup>185</sup>.

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<sup>185</sup> E.g. *PsBk 2*. 21,2 22,12



## P. Kell. Copt. 4

**Inv #** P 82C + P 82A/B

**Site:** House 3, room 6, level 4 SE cnr

**Description:** Single codex leaf from 5 fragments. Mostly complete, but very faded. 153 x 125mm. Wide margins (> 14 - 12 - 25 - 36 with the text perhaps less than 90mm across) and regularly written. Side a (>): 17 lines? Side b (^): 19 lines?

**Dialect:** Unknown.

**Content:** Unknown. It is almost certainly a literary text (according to page format and production), and presumably religious. There is a possible page number at the top rh (^). It is from the same find context as P. Kell. Copt. 1 and 2, which suggests that the content may also be Manichaean.

The format does not suggest that the page contains psalms, for there are no apparent indication of strophes. Line a11 seems to be a new start, i.e. it is possible to suppose a chapter number and perhaps also (very uncertain) a title in the mid page: ζ̄. ετβιε This did suggest to me (IG) something like the *Kephalaia*, and one could reconstruct (extremely speculative) from the traces that follow in a12ff a typical beginning along the lines of:

'Chapter 65. *Concerning the Sun* (ζε ετβε πρη).

The master is sitting (ερε πδαιε εμεστ) in the congregation of the disciples one time. He looked up to the heights ...'

Anyway, the best chance of ever identifying this text seems to be these lines, the start of which are here reproduced in case a parallel might be found. About 40 letters may be calculated per line. Otherwise only occasional letters, hardly words, can be read with any confidence. They are not recorded; but if the facilities for infrared photography or computer enhancement are ever available it might be worthwhile to return to the original.

a12	. . . . εΙC εΜ .....	
13	. . εΠΔΙCΕ ε .....	
14	ΤΔϸΡεελΠΙC .....	ΕΤΟϸ]
15	εβε εΙC .....	

**P. Kell. Copt. 5**

**Inv #** P 27B

**Site:** House 3, room 6, level 2

**Description:** 7 fragments or scraps from a codex, possibly from a single leaf. 2 joined fragments are from the upper part of a page (54 x 52mm, upper margin 28mm); another 2, also joined, from the lower part (48 x 55mm); and 3 'strips' that probably belong with the lower fragments.

**Dialect:** Consistent with *L*.

**Content:** Probably religious or astrological.

**Purpose:** Unknown.

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

(^)

- 1 ] ετϩραψ αϩρηῖ αδωϥ [
- 2 ] ετθ`μαρο μαδσ· ε . [
- 3 ]ϩατε ετ† \ψ<sup>186</sup>/ σσσε̄.̄. [

- 1 ] they are heavy upon him [
- 2 ] they afflict them [
- 3 ] moment, giving ...<sup>187</sup> (?) ... [

**Format:** Double sided text. Possible traces of a title (?) on upper (>) side. Probably written in two columns. Some letters appear interlinear, perhaps traces of an underlying text; but they are on occasion very clear.

**Comment:** Very little remains of this codex leaf, and only the first three lines (^) have been reproduced in the hope that identification may be possible. Nevertheless, there is

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<sup>186</sup> Significance of the superlinear letter is not clear.  
<sup>187</sup> Meaning unclear; perhaps = σσσσ, i.e. an 'instant' or 'second' as opposed to ϩατε for a longer period such as an hour.

interest in the very stylised hand and appearance. The codex seems to have been a much finer production than the other pieces from Kellis. Also, if found in another context it might well be dated considerably later (by palaeography). However, whilst it is possible that the piece may have blown into the site and be unrelated to the rest of the archive, the dialect in so far as it can be determined associates the text with the other material.

**P. Kell. Copt. 6****Inv #** P 75A + P 85A/D**Site:** House 3, room 6, level 4 S side and SE cnr**Description:** Single papyrus leaf from a codex in one principal piece, with two edging fragments added; virtually complete, and with reasonable preservation though some fading.**Dialect:** *I*.

P. Kell. Copt. 6 is the only Coptic literary text viewed from House 3 that falls outside the broad band of *L* dialects; (although in terms of the spectrum of Coptic it is still a ‘close relative’ to sub-Akhmimic). This may suggest that the codex was imported in to the community. Particularly obvious features (which are not *A2* / *L*) are the use of the letter **ϩ**, and of **ⲙⲛ̄** for the negative imperative (rather than **ⲙⲡⲣ̄** / ). These are generally taken to be ‘classic’ characteristics of Akhmimic (*A*). Other *A* forms include: **ⲙⲓⲈ** (truth); **ⲙⲙⲐ** (therein); **ⲗⲟⲩ** (say). However, such may ‘overlap’ into *L*: **ⲙⲓⲈ** is also found in some *L5* manuscripts; **ⲗⲟⲩ** is shared with *L6*. Numerous forms are, of course, normative for both *A* and *L*: **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** (out); **ⲛⲁϥⲣⲈ** (good); **ϥⲁⲩⲛⲈ** (know); etc.

However, the text is not Achmimic. In particular, unlike *A*, it does not utilise the letter **ϩ** for words such as: **ϣⲁⲣⲡ** (first); **ϣⲏⲙ** (small); **ⲈϣⲱⲡⲈ** (if). This usage corresponds to an earlier difference in Egyptian between *h1* and *h2*. Similarly, the text avoids (sic) ‘stronger’ *A* forms: **ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲈ** / **ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲈ**, not **ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲧⲈ** / **ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲧⲈ**; and **ⲧⲱⲃⲈ** not **ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲈ**. These features mean that the text exhibits a form of the supposed intermediate dialect originally termed by P. Kahle ‘Achmimic with Subachmimic influence’; but now better designated: *I*<sup>188</sup>. Very little is extant in this dialect, for the New Testament previously only Galatians 5:11-6:1<sup>189</sup>; and thus the new Kellis text will be of particular interest for specialists.

**Content:** Romans 2:6-29. The text is normative.

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<sup>188</sup> See Funk 1987. R. Kasser often refers to this group as ‘protocypolitan’.

<sup>189</sup> P. Mich. inv. 3535a (Browne 1979: 19 - 24).



Text<sup>190</sup>:

(Λ)

1 <sup>191</sup>ΝΑΤΩΒΕ ΜΠΟΥ[Ε] ΠΟΥΕ ΚΑΤΑ [Ν]ΕΥΩΒΗΤΕ  
 2 7ΝΕΤΨΟΡΟΠ ΜΕΝ [Κ]ΑΤ[Α] Θ[Τ]ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΜΦΩΒ  
 3 ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ· ΕΤΨΙΝΕ ΗΣ[Α] ΠΕΑΘ ΜΗ ΠΤΑΕΙΟ  
 4 ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚ[Ο] ΝΟΥΩΝΩ ΝΨΑ ΔΝΙΩΕ·  
 5 8ΗΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΔΒΔΛ ΩΝ ΟΥΤΤΩΝ ΕΤΟ` ΝΑΤΩΤΜ  
 6 [Ν]ΣΑ ΤΜΙΕ ΕΤΡΠΙΘΕ ΔΕ ΑΠΔΙ ΚΩΑΝΣ` ΟΥΟΡΓΗ  
 7 <sup>192</sup>ΜΝ ΟΥΩΩΝΤ <sup>9</sup>ΟΥΘΛΙΨΙΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΩΩΟΥ <sup>193</sup> ΔΔΝ  
 8 ΨΟΥΧΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΡΩΩΒ ΑΠΠΕΘΑΘ Π <sup>194</sup>  
 9 [Ι]ΟΥΔΔΕΙ ΝΨΑΡΠ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΑΪΑΝΙΝ <sup>10</sup>ΠΕΑΘ  
 10 ΔΕ ΜΝ ΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΝ ΤΡΗΝΗ ΝΟΥΑΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΡ  
 11 ΩΩΒ ΑΠΑΓΑΘΟΗ <sup>195</sup> ΠΙΟΥΔΔΕΙ ΔΝ <sup>196</sup> ΝΨΑΡΠ ΜΝ ΠΟΥ  
 12 ΔΙΑΝΙΝ· <sup>11</sup>ΜΝ ΔΙ ΩΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΩΑΤΜ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ·  
 13 <sup>12</sup>ΝΕΤΑΘΡΗΑΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΔΔΝ ΝΟΜΟΣ` ΑΘΝΑΤΕ  
 14 ΚΟ <sup>197</sup> ΔΝ ΔΔΝ ΝΟΜΟΣ· ΝΕΤΑΘΡΗΑΒΙ ΩΕ <sup>198</sup> ΩΜ  
 15 ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΣΕΝΑΤΩΠ <sup>199</sup> ΑΡΑΘ ΩΙΤΜ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ  
 16 <sup>13</sup>ΝΕΤΩΤΜ [Γ]ΑΡ ΕΝ ΑΠΝΟΜΟ[Σ] ΝΙΕ Ν[Δ]ΙΚΔΙΟΣ ΝΗΔ  
 17 ΩΡΜ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΡΕ ΜΠΠΝΟΜ[ΟΣ] ΝΕ  
 18 ΤΝΑΤΜΑΕΙΟ <sup>14</sup>ΩΟΥΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΩΕΘ[ΝΟΣ] ΕΤΙΕ  
 19 ΜΝΤΕΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ` ΦΟΥΣΕΙ ΣΕΙΡΕ Ν[Ν]ΑΠΙΝΟ  
 20 ΜΟΣ· ΝΕΪ ΕΜΝΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟ[Σ] ΣΕΨΟ[ΟΠ] ΝΕ[Υ] Ν  
 21 ΝΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΕΤΟΥ <sup>200</sup>· <sup>15</sup>ΕΟΥΤΣΕΒΟ <sup>201</sup> ΜΜ[ΔΚ] ΑΠΩΩΒ  
 22 ΜΠΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΥΣΗΩ ΩΜ ΠΙΕ[Υ]ΩΗΤ [ΕΡΕ] ΤΕΥ  
 23 ΣΟΥΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ ΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΜΜ[Ε]Υ Ν[ΤΜ]ΗΤΕ

<sup>190</sup> My (IG) particular thanks both to W.-P. Funk and to R.G. Jenkins for many valuable suggestions.

<sup>191</sup> Ink trace before Ν, but no space for ΕΤ-

<sup>192</sup> Ink trace visible before ΜΝ, and interlinear.

<sup>193</sup> ΛΩΔΩ (H)

<sup>194</sup> Π uncertain; it appears to be preceded by a horizontal pen stroke, but not ΤΔ for ΤΔ-

ΠΙΟΥΔΔΕΙ (H)

<sup>195</sup> ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ (H)

<sup>196</sup> ΜΠΙΟΥΔΔΙ ΝΨΟΡΠ (H)

<sup>197</sup> ΩΕ ΕΒΟΛ (H)

<sup>198</sup> Read ΔΕ for ΔΘΩ (H)

<sup>199</sup> ΚΡΙΝΕ (H)

<sup>200</sup> ΜΑΘΑΔΑΘ (H)

<sup>201</sup> ΝΔΙ ΕΟΥΤΟΥ (H)

24 ΝΗΕΣ[Μ]ΔΚΜΕΚ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΕΡΗϚ<sup>202</sup> Ε[Ϛ]Ρ̄Κ]ΔΤΗ  
 25 ϚΟΡΙΕ] Η ΕϚΟϚΕΨΒΟϚ<sup>203</sup> 16Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΦΟΟϚΕ [Ε]Τ[Ε] Π  
 26 ΗΟϚΤΕ ΗΔΡ̄ΚΡ[Ι]ΝΕ Ν̄Μ̄ΠΕΘΗΠ Η̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ  
 27 [ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΠΔ<sup>204</sup>ΕϚΔϚ[Γ]ΕΛΙΟΝ ϚΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΙΗϚ Π[Χ]Ϛ̄ 17[Ε]ΙΨ  
 28 [ΠΕ] Ν̄ΤΔΚ<sup>205</sup> ΔΕ ΕΣΜΟϚΤΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΔΕ ΠΙΟϚΔΔΙΕΙ  
 29 [ΔϚ]Ω Κ̄Μ̄ΤΑΗ Μ̄ΜΔΚ Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΠΝΟΜΟϚ ΚΨΟϚ  
 30 ΨΟ[Ϛ]

(&gt;)

Ϛ<sup>206</sup>

31 Μ̄ΜΔΚ Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΠΝΟϚΤΕ· 18ΚΣΑϚΝΕ Μ̄ΠΟϚΩΨΕ<sup>207</sup>  
 32 Κ̄Ρ̄ΔΟϚΙΜΔϚΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ρ̄ΝΔϚΡΕ ΕϚΤΣΕΒΟ Μ̄ΜΔΚ  
 33 ΔΒΔΛ Ϛ̄Μ̄ [Π]ΗΟΜΟϚ 19ΕΚΝΑϚΤΕ ΔΡΑΚ· ΔΕ ΚΕ  
 34 Ν̄ΔΔΕΙΜΔΕΙΤ Ν̄ΝΒΛ̄ΛΕΟϚΕ· Ν̄ΟϚΔΕΙΝΕ Ν  
 35 ΝΕΤϚ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΕΚ[[Ε<sup>208</sup>]]· 20Ν̄ΡΕϚϚ̄ϚΒΟϚ Ν̄ΔΘΗΤ Ν̄  
 36 ΣΑϚ Ν̄ΝΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ· ΕϚΝ̄ΤΕΚ Μ̄ΜΟ Μ̄Π  
 37 Ϛ̄ΡΒ̄ Μ̄ΠϚΔϚΝΕ· Μ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΙΕ· Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΠΝΟΜΟϚ·  
 38 21ΠΕΤϚ̄ϚΒΟϚ ΓΕ Ν̄ΚΕΟϚΕ· ΕΤΒΕ Ο` ΚϚ̄ϚΒΟϚ ΝΕ[Κ]  
 39 ΕΝ· ΠΕΤΤΕΨΕΔΕΙΨ ΔΕ Μ̄Ν̄ΔΙΟϚΕ· ΚΔΙΟϚΕ·  
 40 22ΠΕΤΔΟϚ Μ̄ΜΔΣ ΔΕ Μ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΝΔΕΙΚ ΚΕΙ Ν̄ΝΔΕΙΚ·  
 41 ΠΕΤΒΩΤΕ Ν̄ΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΚΨΩΛ Ν̄[[Ρ]]ΠΗϚΕ  
 42 23ΕΚΨΟϚΨΟϚ Μ̄ΜΔΚ Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΠΝΟΜΟϚ Ϛ̄Μ̄ ΠΤΡΕΚ  
 43 Ρ̄ΠΑΡΑΒΔ Μ̄ΠΝΟΜΟϚ ΚΨΩΣ Μ̄ΠΝΟϚΤΕ·  
 44 24ΠΡΕΝ ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΝΟϚΤΕ ΣΕΔΕΟϚΔ ΔΡΑϚ Ϛ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ϚΕ  
 45 ΘΝΟ[Σ] ΕΤ[ΒΕ]Τ̄ΗΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΣΗϚ· 25ΔΕ ΠϚ̄Ϛ̄  
 46 <ΒΕ<sup>209</sup>> [ΜΕ]Ν̄<sup>210</sup> Ρ̄ΝΔϚΡΕ ΕΚΨΔΗΡ<sup>211</sup> ΠΝΟΜΟϚ ΕΨΩ  
 47 Π[Ε ΔΕ] Ν̄ΤΚ ΟϚΠΑΡΑΒΔΤΗΣ Μ̄ΠΝΟΜΟϚ Δ Π[ΕΚ]

202 ϚΙ ΟϚΣΟΠ (H)

203 Η ΟΗ ΕϚΟϚΩϚ̄Μ̄ (H)

204 Π / (H)

205 Added (H)

206 Apparently page number 200; although a more moderate Ϛ̄ could possibly be read.

207 ΔϚΩ ΚΣΟΟϚ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΕϚΟϚΩΨ (H)

208 Corr. from Ι

209 +ΜΕ+

210 ΠϚ̄Ϛ̄ΒΕ ΓΑΡ (H)

211 ΕΚϚΔΡΕϚ (H)

48    ϸβ[βε] ψωπε ασμῆτατϸββε<sup>212</sup>· 26εψωπε [σε]  
 49    ερ[ψα]η τμῆτατϸββε αρεε α<sup>213</sup>ηδικαιω  
 50    μα [μ]ηνομος` οσχι<sup>214</sup> σεηαεπ τεψμῆτ  
 51    ατ[ϸβ]βε εν πε ασϸββε 27ῆτε τμῆτατ  
 52    ϸββε αβαλ<sup>215</sup> εῆ τϸ<sup>216</sup>φϸϸϸ· εαϸδεκ ηηομ[οϸ]  
 53    κριν[ει] ῆμακ παβαλ εῆτμ πεϸφει μῆ η  
 54    ϸββε <sup>217</sup>[μ]παρabaτης ῆηνομος 28πῆοϸα[α]  
 55    ει ϸα[ρ εν] ετοσανε αβαλ πε ηῆοϸα[ει]  
 56    οστε μ[πε]ββε εν ετοσανε αβαλ ε[η] τϸ[αρϸ]  
 57    πε πεββε· 29αλαα ηῆοϸαῆ εθηη<sup>218</sup> π[ε ηοϸ]  
 58    ααει ασω πεββε πε πεββε μηητ |

Superlineal signs only as visible.

**Comment:** This leaf from a codex that presumably contained the complete text of Paul's epistle to the Romans, and in all likelihood also other parts of the Pauline corpus and perhaps of the New Testament generally, was found in House 3; and at an excavation level that places it in the midst of distinctively Manichaean material. Of course, it can not be definitively asserted that this codex (and note also P. Kell. Copt. 9) was in fact used by the Manichaean community, for there may have been other occupiers (although by archaeological definition the site does not evidence separate levels of occupation); or there may be some other reason for its presence there. Nevertheless, it can be shown that there is nothing intrinsically surprising about the discovery of the Pauline corpus in a Manichaean context; and nor should we necessarily expect any such piece to evidence special doctrinal or textual features.

At least until the nineteenth century most knowledge of Manichaeism in the west was drawn from church polemic against it as a Christian 'heresy'. Preeminent among the sources were the writings of Augustine and his circle; and in these the debate about Paul was a major focus. In the disputation between Augustine and the Manichaean elder Fortunatus, held in public in 392 c.e., Fortunatus defends his position with quotations

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212 ῆηητατϸββε (H)

213 Added (H)

214 ειε (H)

215 μῆ τετμῆτατϸββε τε εβοα (H)

216 τ / (H) It is conceivable to suggest the influence of Manichaean dualism in the reading: 'its nature'.

217 ετο (H)

218 επρηη (H)

from Philippians, Ephesians, Romans, and I Corinthians. At the end of the first day of disputation a side comment records how the audience clamoured, because they saw that Fortunatus was not willing to accept all that was written in the codex of the apostle<sup>219</sup>.

This attitude towards the Pauline epistles, in Roman North Africa at least, receives clarification from the excerpts written by the prominent Manichaean teacher Faustus, as quoted and controverted by Augustine. Faustus states that he intends to refute the objections, presumably by catholic Christians, to the prior work of Adimantus (i.e. Mani's leading disciple Adda who was charged with the mission to the west) who had exposed the errors of Judaism and semi-Christianity<sup>220</sup>. Faustus displays knowledge of both Testaments; and ranges widely across the Pauline corpus, including a quotation from Romans 2:14-15<sup>221</sup>. He refers to Paul on the incarnation, from Romans 1:3; and argues that either this is an earlier view of the apostle's that he subsequently rejected, see I Corinthians 13:11 and II Corinthians 5:16-17; or else that the text is corrupt<sup>222</sup>.

From other sections of Faustus' writing it is clear that he believes the second reason to be the true one, and only utilises the first argument to reinforce his case. One of his major points is that catholics feel free to accept or reject various parts of the Old Testament, but then insist on the entirety of the New. Yet, neither Jesus nor his apostles wrote that Testament; the authors of which were unknown men who gave the names of the apostles to their books. Faustus claims to set aside the interpolations, and only to use what is pure and helpful for his salvation<sup>223</sup>. Here it is not certain whether he intends the point about authorship to apply to the whole New Testament; or probably just to the Gospels. However, he does appear to feel free to use the argument about interpolation whenever it suits him<sup>224</sup>. It is the Paraclete (speaking through Mani) who has taught what to accept of the New Testament, and what to reject<sup>225</sup>.

In sum, Pauline literature was an important resource for these Manichaeans; but they had developed lines of exegesis that clearly diverged from catholic Christianity<sup>226</sup>. The

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<sup>219</sup> Augustine, *c. Fort.* 19

<sup>220</sup> Augustine, *c. Faust.* I.2

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.* XIX.2

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* XI.1

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* XXXII.1-2

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.* XXXII.4

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.* XXXII.6

<sup>226</sup> Patristic literature has only been touched upon briefly. As regards North Africa, see also the dense compilation of Pauline references in the Latin Manichaean text fragment from Tebessa (Alfaric 1920).



question arises as to whether this kind of position was uniform in all Manichaean circles, or a particular feature of the North African situation. It has long been pointed out that the critical approach to the biblical text apparent in Faustus, and in his predecessor Adimantus<sup>227</sup>, holds a close resemblance to that of Marcion. Indeed, Lieu suggests that Adimantus (Adda) may have been a Marcionite prior to joining the new religion<sup>228</sup>. Certainly, the utilisation of Marcionite thought and polemical techniques is likely to have been a feature of Manichaeism, as it came into increased conflict with catholic Christianity during its drive westwards.

The nineteenth century brought real developments in the critical study of Manichaeism; and the start of the publication of new oriental sources, including important Syriac and Arabic texts. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the great imperial expeditions brought back to Europe much new and different Manichaean material from Central Asia. The study of the history of the religion, no longer a 'heresy', was transformed. Iranian elements, and perhaps from further east, came into prominence. For a while the Christian context seemed less important. However, careful scholarship showed that the pendulum had swung too far; and that the figure of Jesus, and other Christian features, remained vital for an understanding of Manichaeism in all areas of its distribution<sup>229</sup>.

With regard to the apostle Paul, in the predominantly Buddhist environments of eastern Manichaeism, it is not surprising that his influence is far less overt than in the west. Nevertheless, both he and Marcion are referred to by name in Central Asian texts, and traces of Pauline theology can be discerned<sup>230</sup>. In fact subsequent discoveries have proved that the influence of both Paul and Marcion must be traced back to the very earliest days of Manichaeism, to the experience of Mani himself.

In 1929 the most extensive cache of Manichaean writings yet discovered came to light with the Medinet Madi codices. These included canonical texts of Mani, together with others from the first generations; and (as this present volume shows) are closely linked in both provenance and content to the new texts from Kellis. The *Kephalaia*, in particular, provides the most substantial presentation of Manichaean teaching yet available to modern scholarship. Although it is a non-canonical work, its redaction is to be dated to the first

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<sup>227</sup> See also Augustine, *c. Adim.*

<sup>228</sup> Lieu 1985: 64 - 65; and see Merkelbach 1984 and 1985, Tardieu 1987

<sup>229</sup> E. g. Burkitt 1925; Waldschmidt - Lentz 1926

<sup>230</sup> See Puech 1979 (the article was originally written in 1958 and needs updating). Marcion is referred to in the text M 28 I

generation of the community<sup>231</sup>; and it provides an intricate and authentic account of the details of Mani's system.

A study of the *Kephalaia* confirms that while Mani was concerned to stress the universality of his revelation, and thus integrated the Buddha and Zarathushtra into the chain of authentic apostles; nevertheless, his teaching is firmly grounded in (broadly speaking) the Judaeo-Christian and gnostic thought worlds. In the first chapter<sup>232</sup> Mani compares the advent and subsequent ascent of each apostle (the farmer), together with his church (the fruit), to the months of seed-time and harvest:

There is not any time [the tree] is bare of fruit! Rather, instead, those about to ripen as they pick them shall propagate other ones there. ... They shall pick from it those that mature and ripen. [The] farmer does [not] rest at any time from the labour and the pain. At what hour [may he] cease? When he can finish harvesting the corn in Parmuthi! ... them in the winter, the fruits of the summer shall ... grow [up and] be picked in the month of Paophi.

The apostles are like this [also]. Now, when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his church, and they depart from the world; at that instant another apostle shall be sent to it, to another ch[urch] ...

Then follows the listing of the apostles: Sethel, Enosh, Enoch, Sem, Buddha, Aurentes, Zarathushtra, and Jesus. Only Jesus receives any detailed account: his docetic body (here Philippians 2:7 has been deeply embedded in a tradition that must be traced directly back through Marcion); crucifixion; resurrection; and ascension. Jesus has commissioned the final church before Mani, and Paul is crucial to the (limited) authenticity of the Christians:

After Paul the apostle little by little, day [after] day, all mankind began to stumble. They left [righteousness] behind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred ... go on the road which is broad.

At this same time also, in the last church, a righteous man of truth appeared, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced ... they cared for the church of our master according to [their capacity, but] they too were

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<sup>231</sup> W.-P. Funk, who is editing the latter part of the Berlin codex of the *Kephalaia*, has recently found what appears to be the concluding remarks and colophon to the whole work. This seems to indicate that the work has a single author and was not an anonymous collection, although it undoubtedly does use material from a variety of sources. Funk 1994 (and also Tardieu 1987) speculate that this person may have been Adda.

<sup>232</sup> Quotations abbreviated from *Keph* 11,26 - 14,6 tr. Gardner.

raised up to the land [of light]. After those ones again, little by little, the church perished. The world remained behind without church. Like a tree will be plucked, and the fruits on it taken away. And it remains behind without fruit.

[When] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began ... From that time on was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has come to you in this last generation.

Here Paul's role in the preservation of the authentic tradition is formalised, together with another (or possibly two others) whose identity has been the subject of much speculation. Certainly Pauline theology is mediated into Manichaeism, at least in good part, via Marcionism. The influence of Marcionite exegesis is apparent, in the *Kephalaia* as elsewhere, by the use of characteristic proof texts which can be traced back to Marcion himself, and his *Antitheses*. Thus the parable of the two trees (Luke 6:43-44) underpins dualistic teachings. Unfortunately, the problem which used to bedevil any true understanding of Manichaeism, the virtual lack of primary sources, still pertains for Marcionism. In consequence, it is difficult in the extreme to be certain how original is the peculiar exegesis of Pauline thought in Manichaean circles.

The *Kephalaia* provides good evidence for the extent to which originally Pauline conceptions have been integrated into the heart of Mani's vision of the universe and human salvation. For example, from chapter 38<sup>233</sup>:

Once again, at one of the times, a disciple questioned the [apostle], saying to him: You have told us that the Light Mind is this one who shall come and assume the saints. [You said] it to us like this: He too is one among the gods ... many gods are with him. You have also told us: When he enters within [the body of] the flesh and binds the old [man] with his five counsels, he [sets] his five counsels upon him in the five limbs [of his] body.

In his answer Mani draws a highly interesting psychological portrait of the conflict between sin and the incarnate divine intellect. The fundamentally Pauline terminology of the old and new man is here thoroughly integrated in Mani's own understanding of the salvific process, complete with the characteristic pentads:

This is how (the Light Mind) shall release the members of the soul, and make them free from the five members of sin. Conversely, these five members of sin, which were loose; he shall bind them. He shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness. [And] when [he] fashions and constructs and purifies the new man; then he shall bring

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid. 89,21-29 96,22 - 97,7 See also Sundermann 1992: 13 - 15 +ff.



forth five great living members out from the five great members. And he places them in the members of the new man. He shall place his mind, which is love, in the mind of the new man. Also, the thought, which is faith, he shall place [in] the thought [of the] new [man]; whom he shall purify. His insight, which [is perfection, he shall place] in the insight of the new man. His counsel, which [is] patience, he shall place in his counsel. Also, wisdom, which is his consideration, in the consideration of the new man. He shall make the image of the word pure from the word of sin; and he adds to it his word, so that his ... becomes nourisher and strengthener ...

Here it can be seen how terms developed by Paul are abstracted from their original frame, and provided with a whole new context. This will then have a revolutionary effect when read back in to the original text. Of course, this whole process is well known in religious traditions; and some would argue is integral to any action of reading a text. Nevertheless, Mani's system provides some excellent illustrations of this, especially in view of the literal and static weight that is placed upon statements in his world of revealed doctrine.

A further example is Mani's teaching about the Perfect Man, a figure long recognised to be derived from Ephesians 4:12-13. In Manichaeism the Perfect Man is a divine personification of the Pillar of Glory, the pathway of ascent from earth for liberated souls. Here the rejoicing souls are washed clean<sup>234</sup>:

the baptism  
of the Gods thou shalt receive in the [Perfect] Man. [The]  
luminaries will make thee perfect, and take thee to thy [king]dom.

In fact, the Perfect Man is the re-unification and restoration of the body of the First Man, the first begotten son of the Father who descended to do battle with the enemy. He was defeated and dismembered, to lie scattered and mingled throughout the material cosmos awaiting redemption. Thus indeed, (Paul might recognise!), the Perfect Man is the body of Christ in whom the believer is perfected and born again<sup>235</sup>:

Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar: Jesus is the  
resurrection of them that have died in the church.

While the integration of originally Pauline terminology in Mani's system could be the product of a long exegetical history, the decipherment of a miniature devotional biography of Mani, first announced by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in 1970, has

<sup>234</sup> *PsBk* 2. 22,13-15 (adapted). In Persian texts he becomes the God Šrosh.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* 59,17-18



provided radical new evidence for the influence of Paul in the self-understanding of this later apostle. The redactor of *On the Genesis of his Body* (= *CMC*) utilises quotations from Mani's own writings, earlier apocalypses, and witnesses from the Manichaean community; to provide a coherent, if somewhat artificial and hagiographical, account of the apostle's divine call and work.

On the basis of the various evidence now available it becomes apparent that Paul was the precedent by which Mani could understand his own role and activity. Although not an historical witness to Jesus, the son of God, like Paul Mani was especially called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God the Father<sup>236</sup>. Although brought up within the confines of Jewish legalism, the closed community of his youth; now he has an evangelical commission, that by his journeys, preaching and epistles, he will plant the church throughout the world<sup>237</sup>.

In the *CMC*<sup>238</sup> Baraies quotes Galatians 1:1, 11-12, and II Corinthians 12:1-5; amidst other evidence for the rapture and divine revelation of teachers and apostles prior to Mani. Importantly, the text seems to be taken direct from the Greek New Testament, not from the Syriac source that must lie behind the work as a whole. Nor does the text betray Marcionite influence, even though theologically this may be traced in the work<sup>239</sup>. This confirms that the Manichaeans appear to have been content to utilise 'standard' versions of the biblical text; whilst, without doubt, their own traditions would continue to have governed their exegesis.

In sum, the discovery of this version of Romans 2:6-29, amongst Manichaean texts from Ismant el-Kharab, should occasion no surprise. Of course, it is tempting to presume the preservation of this passage, with its classic indictment of Judaism, to be of particular significance. Certainly, it is not difficult to see how it could be read from a Manichaean perspective, especially if reinforced with Marcionite themes. However, it is probable that the preservation of these verses, in all likelihood from an entire codex containing Romans and other biblical texts, is a product of chance rather than design.

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<sup>236</sup> *CMC* 66:4-7, quotation from Mani's *Gospel*. Mani's use of the Pauline epistolary formulae is evident elsewhere, e. g. Augustine, *c. epist. Fund.* 6

<sup>237</sup> *CMC* passim; and see Lieu 1985: 40,62

<sup>238</sup> *CMC* 60-62

<sup>239</sup> See Betz 1986: 226

P. Kell. Copt. 7

Inv # P 4A

Site: House 3, room 6, level 2

Description: 12 fragments from a rolled papyrus text (width 45mm), 8 of which join. Written only (^) side. Lh margin (with numbers): 4 mm. Some ink traces on v.

Dialect: Consistent with L. Conjugation base ϩΔ- (Perfect affirmative).

Content: Sayings (?). The Coptic text relates to the series of letters given in the margin.

Purpose: Divination (?)

Authorship: Traditional (?)

Text and Translation:

x+1	λ	εϣΔπ[ . . . ]Δ . . . [ . τη]	L (30)	[...]
2		ροσ ε <sup>240</sup> ϩΓρεϩτ ϣΔϥ		all of them (?) resting. He shall
3		†οσ ϣΔϩρηī ḡ . . .		give them up to [ ...
4		] . τε τḡϩε ϩωκ		... ] your own way
5		traces		...
6	μ	] . Δ traces ηετ†	M (40)	... ] the ones from which I
7		ϩωϣτ ΔβΔλ ϩητοσ		watch out
8		ετβε οσϩησ οσḡ οσ		for a profit. For there are
9		Δτο τΔρ ḡσαπ ϣΔρε		many times when
10		ηικοσι ḡϩησ τρΔ . .		these small profits shall cause (?)
11		ηΔσ ḡΔσε ϣωπε·		great loss to come about.
12	η	οσḡ οσΔΔει εϩσερε	N (50)	There is a ship at rest
13		ϩτ̄ς̄ . . . ε . ηεκ μḡ		[ ... ] for you there is neither (?)
14		κηνΔσνος οστε Δσε·		danger nor loss.
15	ξ	ω πϣḡο ϩΔκβωκ	X (60)	O, the stranger. You went.

<sup>240</sup> Apparently not σ, perhaps ϥ

16	ϺΔΚΕΙ ΕΚΚΙΤΑΔΕΙ Ν̄	You have come, being factious(?) <sup>241</sup>
17	[ . . . ] ϺΗΤ ΔΝΕϺ ΔΒΔΛ	[ ... ] to look out.
18	ΜΠ̄ΩΜC Π̄[	Do not sink [ ... ]
19	ΕΙΨ† ΝΤΟΤΚ . [	I being able to aid you [ ... ]
20	Ο ΠΟϺΩϺΕ ΕΚ[	O (70) The fisher. You [ ... ]
21	ΝΟϺΔΕ Μ̄Π[	cast [the net (?)]
22	ΔΘΔΛΔCΔΔ [	to the sea [ ... ]

Plus 2 joined fragments from 5 lines:

23	] trace	...
24	] ϺϺΨΗΝ	[ ... ] a tree
25	] ΔΙΝ̄ ΜΠΙ	[ ... ] since this
	vac	
26	]ΘΕ ΕΤϺΙΔΝ̄ Ν	[ ... ] which is over [
27	]ΕΤ†ΚΛΔΜ ΝΕ	[... ] which crowns you

Also 1 scrap with Π (?) belongs to upper part; and 1 unplaced vertical scrap with letters from 6 lines.

### Format:

The format of a thin papyrus roll suggests some kind of charm. A feature is the sequence of Greek letters along the lh margin. These can scarcely be numerals such as for the payment of the scribe, especially as they do not seem to correspond to the frequency of lines or any other observable feature of the text. Instead, they seem to relate to the series of 'occurrences' (such as a ship at bay) in the Coptic, and would appear on occasion to stand for the Greek equivalents:

ν(αῦς)	ϺΔΕΙ	ship
ξ(ένος)	ΨΜΟ	stranger
ο	ΟϺΩϺΕ	fisher

The significance of this is unclear, if indeed it is more than coincidental. The whole piece could be taken as a Coptic translation of a Greek acrostic text; such as are found in the

<sup>241</sup> If this reading is correct then ΕΚΚΙΤΑΔΕΙ would appear to be a Greek word used as a verb without Π̄ and seeming to mean something like 'to be factious'. Is it possibly a form of σύστασις *conspiracy* ultimately deriving from συνίστημι or a form of συστασιάζω? (Clackson)  
Alternatively, it may be better to read an extremely malformed Π (perhaps the scribe altered his pen stroke midway) and thus: ΕΚΚΙ ΠΔCΕΙΝ̄ (You have come, being satisfied. My physician (?) ...)

Manichaean *Psalm-Book* <sup>242</sup>. However, in contrast to those examples, in this Kellis text there seems to be no continuous effort to mimic the Greek; the initial letters merely being recorded<sup>243</sup>. And then again there is the problem of why *o* for ‘fisher’, if the base text is Greek? This is a strange way to proceed; and I wonder if instead this is some kind of mnemonic device or game rather than a translation.

**Content:**

This seems to be oracular and to provide a divination to the various occurrences. ‘There is a ship ...’: (consequence) ‘... neither profit nor loss’.

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<sup>242</sup> *PsBk I*. pl.150 - 152, 258; and see Wurst 1995: 70

<sup>243</sup> Contrast the rather forced renderings, e.g.  $\zeta\omega\Delta\iota\omicron\eta\eta\ \eta\iota\lambda\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\sigma$  (*PsBk I*. 150,26?)



## P. Kell. Copt. 8

Inv # A/2/88

Site: House 2, room 5, level 3

**Description:** Single papyrus leaf from a codex. Complete, but poorly preserved and with the appearance of 'lace'. 122 x 114 mm; text 70-75mm across. The textual construction (such as the wide margins and regular style) indicates literary content; although the hand is rather ordinary. Margins: > 13, 17, 25, 24; ^ 13, 26, 17, 25.

**Dialect:** *L*. The strong vocalisation of ε to α, always a feature of these dialects, is here found in an acute form (as indeed elsewhere at Kellis<sup>244</sup>): αβδτ (εβδτ); ατβε (ετβε). The relative future would appear to be ετνε - (line 12).

**Content:** Probably Manichaean<sup>245</sup>.

**Purpose:** Discourse. Mani (?) explains why certain matters in the cosmos are or are not equal and balanced against each other, such as day and night. This repetitive style, and concern for the right ordering of the universe, is reminiscent of certain *Kephalaia* passages<sup>246</sup>.

**Authorship:** Unknown. The revelatory style (especially lines 11-13 and 19-20) suggest that it could be by Mani, either canonical or sub-canonical.

**Text:**

(>)1 ῑαρχεσθαῖ ἡἡ[ . . . ] ἡ . . . ἡπαβδτ ἡτωβε<sup>247</sup>  
 2 ἡβδ . . . ἡτρ . . . [ . . . ] . ἡαψ ἡ[ε]το ἡρατε  
 3 . . . . . ατ . . ρ . [ . . . ]τε ροτρεψρεψ<sup>248</sup> ατ  
 4 ω . . αἡ αψαν . ε . . . με . ἡ . ἡοῖ . . .

<sup>244</sup> Note especially the as yet unpublished personal letter P 93.44 passim, and line v3: ατβδ (ετβε)

<sup>245</sup> This would be the first certain proof of Manichaeism in House 2, although the texts from the associated structure A/3 (and other points such as the evidently close relations with House 3 that are apparent in the papyri) make this likely.

<sup>246</sup> E.g. kephalaion 47

<sup>247</sup> In particular the β is uncertain.

<sup>248</sup> Cf Crum 310a and addenda, Westendorf 1977: 171, Vycichl 1984: 180, *PsBk* 2. 8,19 and note.

5 ε . ε ε τ α ρ ρ̄ ω ε ρ [ . ] . . . . . α ρ  
 6 ρ ρ̄ α ρ ρ̄ α ρ̄ η . . . [ . ] . . α ρ ρ̄ ι τ ρ ρ̄ . . . .  
 7 . . ε ο ρ α ρ ρ̄ ρ̄ α ρ̄ η [ . . ] ε ρ ρ̄ ο ο [ ρ ] α ρ ρ̄ . . . . [ . ]  
 8 ω ι πε η̄ . . . . [ . . . . ] . . ρ . . ε π ε τ ε [ . . ] μ ρ ε η̄  
 9 π ε τ ε τ α ρ . ι τ . . . . . ω ω π ε η μ μ ε ρ ρ̄ .  
 10 μ . . . . η . . . . . [ . ] . [ . . ] ρ ρ̄ μ π . . η . .  
 11 η̄ ω α τ η̄ . . . [ . . . . ] . [ . . . . ] . . π μ ρ σ τ η̄  
 12 ρ ι ο η πε π ε ῑ α . . . . [ . ] ρ̄ . [ . ] . . η ι μ πε τ η̄  
 13 ρ α τ μ ε ρ μ α ρ̄ . [ . ] . [ . ] α ρ α ρ̄ ε ι μ η τ ι α η ε τ α ι ε ρ̄ η̄  
 14<sup>249</sup> α τ β ε<sup>250</sup> η̄ . . . [ . ] . ε μ̄ . [ . . ] . . μ ε ο ρ ε μ̄ π ι μ α  
 15 η ε α τ α κ ω η̄ . . ῑ [ . . . . ] ε τ α ρ ω η̄ ω μ̄ η̄  
 16 η ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ [ . ] . . . [ . ] . η . . ω η̄ ω ε η ω ω  
 17 πε εκ ρ α ρ η̄ ε<sup>251</sup> [ . . ] . . [ . . . . ] . ρ . η̄ . . ε ρ

(^)18 . ε ρ . . . .<sup>252</sup> [ . . . . . ] . ρ . ε [ . . ] α ρ ε  
 19 τ ρ ρ̄ ρ ρ̄ β ε η̄ ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ [ . . . . ] ρ α ρ π η ο η μ α  
 20 μ̄ π ρ ε ρ ε [ ρ ] ε ω η̄ ω . [ . . . . ] η ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ α λ λ α  
 21 α τ β ε . . . . . π α ω [ . . . . . ] μ̄ η̄ θ ο ρ̄ ῑ τ ε  
 22 η̄ η α λ . . . . . [ . . . . ] . ο τ ε ω ω  
 23 . μ ρ ε . ρ ε [ . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ρ ε ε  
 24 τ η̄ τ η̄ . . [ . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . η ρ ω ρ<sup>253</sup>  
 25 ω α μ̄ . . ρ [ . ] π ι τ ι η̄ . . . . .  
 26 ρ μ πε τ ρ β α κ α . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . ο ρ α ρ ρ̄ . .  
 27 ρ ι τ . ο ρ̄ . ρ ε τ ο ρ ω η̄ ω . . [ . . ] . . . α ρ ε α ρ ε τ ο ρ  
 28 ο ρ̄ β ε η̄ ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ . . . . [ . . . . ] . . . . μ μ α κ  
 29 η̄ . . τ α ρ ω η̄ ω ο ρ̄ β ε η̄ ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ ε ι μ η̄  
 30 τ ι α π ε ῑ μ̄ με τ ε ρ ε ω α [ . . ] . α ρ ε [ α ] ρ ε τ ο ρ ο ρ̄  
 31 β ε η̄ ο ρ α ρ η̄ ρ̄ πε ρ ρ ο ο ρ ε τ [ ρ ] ῑ δ η̄ η̄ ρ ι ρ ε  
 32 ε τ μ π ρ α η̄ τ πε τ ρ ρ̄ ω η̄ ρ μ η̄ ω ι χ ρ  
 33 ε τ μ π ρ α η̄ π ι τ η̄<sup>254</sup> α . . ε [ . ] . . . . . ρ ο ο ρ<sup>255</sup>

<sup>249</sup> The start of the line is slightly indented.

<sup>250</sup> For ε τ β ε

<sup>251</sup> Typical style used for Mani's speech in the *Kephalaia*, passim.

<sup>252</sup> Perhaps read π ε ρ ρ̄ ο ρ̄ ρ̄ ('The day ...')

<sup>253</sup> Perhaps read τ ] ρ̄ ρ̄ ω η̄ ρ ω ρ ('The night too ...')

<sup>254</sup> Typical Manichaean phraseology, see *Keph.* 28,17 38,31-2 84,2-3 156,19 172,29 (274,8)

<sup>255</sup> This suggests that side ^ must follow >

(>) / begin [...] of the month of Tōbe (?) / [...] the one made of moments (?) / [...] blossoms; they are / [... 5 ...] which are fitting [...] they / are added to [...] they bear them [... / ...] they are added to the day (?); and they [...] / measure [... / ...] becomes with them <sup>10</sup> [... / ...] the mystery / is this [...] whoever will / hear it [...] him, except the ones that are great; / because [...] think [... 15 ...] which are equal with / one another [...] not equal. /

Happen you know [... (^) ...] / set against one another. [...] the understanding <sup>20</sup> of the saying, that equal [...] one another; but / because [...] and the first / of my [... / ... / ... 25 ...] / in what is smaller [...] moon (?) [... / ...] while the night [...] are set / against one another [...] you / [...] which are equal against one another; except <sup>30</sup> only this [...] are set against / one another: the day that is over the heights / above; the night in the depths / below [...] say /

### Format:

The format of the text is rather hypothetical. With imagination (!) it can be suggested that at line 17 Mani says something like: ‘Happen you know the interpretation of these two natures’. Line 18 would then begin with ‘the day’, and at the end of 24 can be found the corresponding ‘the night also’. This would make the text kephalaic in structure and style.

### Comment:

There is little coherent narrative to be read from this piece, its principal value being as probable evidence for Manichaeism in House 2. That is: the distinction of the two natures as ‘day and night’ is the most fundamental feature of Manichaean dualism<sup>256</sup>; as well as certain characteristic elements in the style and terminology as remarked upon in the notes.

The *Kephalaia* does contain at chapter 159<sup>257</sup> a kephalaion entitled: ‘[What] the height of the day is, [and what] the depth of the night’. In the framing sequence the questioner comments that Mani has taught him about ‘the height of the day (ΠΔΙΣΕ ΜΠΡΟΟΤΕ)’ and also about ‘the depth of the night (ΠΝΟΘΗ ΝΤΟΘΨΗ)’, but that he does not understand what they are. Mani (here the epithet is ‘the light-person (ΠΡ Μ ΝΟΘΔΙΝΕ)’) replies that he is the one to explain these two sayings (ΣΕΔΕ). The day is in two parts (the outer aeons of light and this zone); while the ‘height of the day’ appears to be the ships (?) of light that travel in the midst of the zone, these all people can see and should understand. The night (i.e. the dark principle) is then similarly explained as a typical reverse image.

<sup>256</sup> E.g. *Keph.* 27,24

<sup>257</sup> At present unpublished. W.-P. Funk has kindly provided me (IG) with a laser copy of photographs for the relevant section (pp. 397 - 398), together with a copy of H.-J. Polotsky’s original transcription.

There is not yet any critical edition of kephalaion 159, parts of which are difficult to read on the photocopies at my disposal. P. Kell. Copt. 8 is very poorly preserved. Thus, at the present time, it would be unwarranted to reach any firm conclusion about the relationship (if any) between the two texts. However, it is my provisional opinion that they are not the same; but they do share certain terminology and this strengthens the hypothesis that P. Kell. Copt. 8 is Manichaean, and quite possibly by Mani himself. Indeed, kephalaion 159 itself alludes to other discussions about this theme; and kephalaic material developed in part as commentary to scripture.

This point is strengthened with reference to an eastern Manichaean text<sup>258</sup> which may help to explain the diverse references to a month, to (night and day?) being or not being equal, and the unexpected term **ϷοϷρεϷρεϷ** ('blossoms'): 'Und im Monat *Āβān* hat der Tag elf Stunden und die Nacht dreizehn. Und dann ist auch die Gesamtwelt »sonnenlicht« und »sonnenoffen« ... (later in the year during *Āδur*) so daß der Tag 12 Stunden und die Nacht 12 Stunden hat und (also) beide zusammen ganz gleich sind ...' The text continues, with various calculations, to discuss the cycle of growth and decay over the four seasons.

This Iranian text may belong to the *Šābuhragān* and in itself is unlikely to be a direct parallel to the Kellis piece. Nevertheless, Mani did return to the same themes in different contexts; and it seems reasonable to at least suggest that P. Kell. Copt. 8 is a remnant of some discourse of his about such a topic.

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<sup>258</sup> From MM 1: 16 - 17 [188 - 189] (= Klimkeit 1993: 230 - 231). I am most grateful to W. Sundermann for pointing me in this direction.



## P. Kell. Copt. 9

Inv # P 85Fi (ex P85D/E/F + P93B)

Site: House 3, room 6, level 4 SE cnr

**Description:** Central strip of a single papyrus codex leaf reconstructed from 7 fragments. 241mm vertical; margins 18mm (top), 55mm (base). Main text on (^) only: 27 lines; with 3 lines (unread) scrambled below. 2 unplaced fragments may belong<sup>259</sup>.

**Dialect:** L, but with distinct features: the  $\Delta$  vocalisation of the conjugation base (even  $\Delta\rho\Delta$  line 9); and irregular ( $\Delta$  line 19?) use of the prepositional  $\epsilon$  -  $\epsilon\rho\Delta$  =

**Content:** Hebrews 12:4-13<sup>260</sup>. Variant text (?)

<sup>259</sup> The similarities in the hand and papyrus texture caused me (IG) to place these fragments here (see photograph), but their positioning is problematic. One has a trace of script on the > side, which would seem to exclude it; although of course it could be a remnant from another associated page. Also, where  $\epsilon\beta\Delta\lambda$  can clearly be read would strongly suggest placing this piece at the end of line 19. However, the traces from the lines above and below appear not to be consistent with the normative text. Someone may be able to suggest a satisfactory solution.

<sup>260</sup> Sahidic (Horner): 4  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{s}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}$   
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}$ . 5  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{\tau}$ .  $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$ .  $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$ .  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$   
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{s}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{s}$ .  $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{\psi}\bar{m}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{p}\bar{\iota}\bar{o}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{k}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$   
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$ . 6  $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{s}$   $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}$ .  
 $\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\bar{g}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}$ . 7  
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{s}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$ .  $\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}$   
 $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}$ . 8  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{s}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$ .  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ .  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\zeta}$ .  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$ . 9  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$   
 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{s}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\tau}\bar{s}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\psi}\bar{\iota}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ .  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{p}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}$ . 10  $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}$   
 $\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{s}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{[}\bar{\sigma}\bar{I}\bar{]}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{p}\bar{[}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{I}]}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}$   $\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$   
 $\bar{p}\bar{[}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{I}\bar{\zeta}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{I}$ .  $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{[}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{I}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\zeta}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{[}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{I}]}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{r}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{m}$   
 $\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{p}$ . 11  $\bar{s}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}$   $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{s}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ .  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\sigma}\bar{p}\bar{\eta}$ .  $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{s}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{s}$   
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{r}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{n}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{o}\bar{s}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$   
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$ . 12  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\beta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\beta}\bar{o}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$

## Text:

(^)<sup>1</sup> [ . . . . . ] . . . Δ ΜΠΕΣΝΑϢ ΔΤΕ[ΤΗ . . . . . ]  
 2 [ . . . . . ] . Ν . ΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ<sup>261</sup> ΝΕΤ† Ο[ΟΥΒΕ . . . . . ]  
 3 [ . . . . . ρ̄ΠΩΒ]Ψ ΜΠΣΑΠΣΠ ΠΕΕΙ Ε[Τ . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 4 [ . . . . . ΨΗΡ]Ε ΔΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ [Μ]Π̄Ρ̄[ΚΟΪ . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ΔΑ]ΕΙΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠ̄Ρ̄ΨΩΣΜ̄ ΔΤΔΠ[ΙΟ . . ]  
 6 [ . . . . . ΕΒΑ]Λ ρ̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄ ΠΕΤΑΡ̄Ε ΠΔΔΕΙΣ ΟΥ[ΩΨΕ]  
 7 [ΜΜΑϢ ΨΑϢΡ̄ΠΕΔ]ΕΤΕ ΜΜΑϢ ΨΑϢΡ̄ΜΑΣΤΙΓΤΟϢ [ . ]  
 8 [ . . . . . Γ]ΔΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ̄ΝΑΨΑΠΟϢ ΕΡ[ΔΑ]Ϣ [ . . . ]  
 9 [ . . . . . ] . ΤΣΒΩ ΔΡΑ ΠΝΟϢΤΕ †[Σ]ΒΩ [ . . . . . ]  
 10 [ . . . . . Ψ]ΗΡΕ ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΕΙ<sup>262</sup>ΨΗΡΕ [ . ]Ε[ . . . . . ]  
 11 [ . . . . . ρ̄Π]ΕΔΕΤΕ ΜΜΑϢ ΕΨ[ΔΕ . . . . . ]  
 12 [ . . . . . ] ΟΥΔΑΝ ΝΙΜ ᾿ΕΜΑ<sup>263</sup>[ . . . . . ]  
 13 [ . . . . . ΝΟΥ]Δ ᾿ . Ω . Ν̄<sup>264</sup> ρ̄Ν̄[ . . . . . ]  
 14 [ . . . . . ] . Ν̄Ν̄Ε[ΙΔ]ΤΕ . . . . . ]  
 15 [ . . . . . ] . . . . ΗΤΟϢ [ . . . . . ]  
 16 [ . . . . . ] ΠΙ]ΩΤ Ν̄ΜΠ[Ν̄Δ . . . . . ]  
 17 [ . . . . . ] ΠΡΟΣ ρ̄Ν̄ΚΟϢ[Ι . . . . . ]  
 18 [ . . . . . ΜΜΑ]Ν ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤ[ . . . . . ]  
 19 [ . . . . . ] ΟΥΝΑϢΡΕ Δ[ . . . . . ]  
 20 [ . . . . . Σ]ΒΩ ΔΕ ΝΙΜ Π . [ . . . . . ]  
 21 [ . . . . . ] . ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΔΟΥΗ . [ . . . . . ]  
 22 [ . . . . . ] ΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΟ[Σ] Ν̄ . Ρ .<sup>265</sup>[ . . . . . ]  
 23 [ . . . . . ρ̄ΓΣΜ]ΝΑΖΕ ΜΜΑϢ ΕΒΑ[Λ . . . . . ]  
 24 [ . . . . . Τ]ΔΡΟ ΔΡΕΤΟϢ Ν̄[ . ]Ο<sup>266</sup>[ . . . . . ]  
 25 [ . . . . . Β]ΗΛ ΕΒΑΛ Ν̄ΤΕ ᾿ [ . . . . . ]  
 26 [ . . . . . ] ΟΥΟϢΤΩΝ . [ . . . . . ]  
 27 [ . . . . . ] Ε Ν̄ΝΕ ΠΕΤΔΩ . Ρ .<sup>267</sup>[

Ν̄ΠΑΤ ΕΤΚΗ<sup>13</sup> Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΤΑΜΙΕ ρ̄ΕΝϒΙΟΟΤΕ ΕϢΟϢΤΩΝ  
 Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟϢΕΡΗΤΕ ΔΕΚΑΣ Ν̄ΝΕ ΠΕΤΔΟϢϒΕ ΠΩΨ᾿ ΑΛΛΑ ΕϢΕΛΟ᾿

<sup>261</sup> Possibly ΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ for (ἀντ)αγωνίζεσθαι Is there then a second attempt (repeated as †)?

After this could be restored: † Ο[ΟΥΒΕ ΠΝΑΒΕ ΔΤΩ / ΔΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΠΩΒ]Ψ

<sup>262</sup> Perhaps these two letters are meant to be erased.

<sup>263</sup> Perhaps this should simply be read ρ̄ΕΜΑ[ΤΕΧΕ for ρ̄ΜΕΤΕΧΕ

<sup>264</sup> One might read Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν̄ but the traces are not convincing.

<sup>265</sup> Perhaps read Ν̄ΙΡ̄Η[ΝΙΚΟΝ]

<sup>266</sup> It is difficult to read [Ν]᾿[ΙΔ

<sup>267</sup> It seems impossible to read ΔΟϢϒΕ or even ΔΩΡΑϒ

**Format:** The surviving text is essentially of the central column from a papyrus leaf, which has broken vertically along the folds. It can be calculated (e.g. see the reconstruction of lines 6-7) that the three parts each averaged approx. 11 Coptic letters: lh (lost); centre (surviving); rh (part found at P 93B). Thus it should in theory be possible to reconstruct the page with some certainty, allowing for dialectical forms and so on, if the text were normative.

However, it is evident that there are significant variants in the Kellis version. In a number of instances the lacuna from one line to the next has no reasonable correspondence to what might be expected<sup>268</sup>, as between lines 24 - 25 where the Sahidic reads **ⲛⲛⲒⲒⲒⲒ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ**. Some variation is due to dialect and orthography; some to minor differences in the text<sup>269</sup>, especially in the use of particles. However, the Kellis version would seem to go beyond such. This is apparent also in some of the preserved passages, such as lines 2 and 9.

Another question relates to the general context of the piece. Only one side of the papyrus is inscribed, so that it is difficult to think of it as a normal codex leaf. Perhaps it is an extract copied for some reason; or else it could be a discarded leaf or an exercise. The content of the text is in itself a kind of education! In any case, it appears to conclude at verse 13.

**Comment:** The identification of this piece was rather a surprise. Its archaeological setting places it firmly in the midst of the Manichaean material; but Hebrews is in general one of the New Testament books less likely to be used by such a community. The extract in itself is of obvious utility; but questions remain about the status of the text and its purpose<sup>270</sup>.

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<sup>268</sup> A simple calculation of presumed lacuna / normative text produces (line by line): 23 / 7; 13 / 13; 20 / 13; 13 / 12; 11 / 4; 11 / 11; 10 / 7; 14 / 10; 18 / 11; 17 / 15; 20 / 19; 25 / 21; 26 / 21; 21 / 22; 22 / 23; 20 / 15; 18 / 15; 22 / 16; 20 / 23; 23 / 27; 21 / 12; 16 / 27; 15 / 16; 16 / 2; 24 / 30

<sup>269</sup> Note also in the Kellis version **ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ** in line 6, for **ⲙⲉ / ⲙⲉⲓⲉ**

<sup>270</sup> The identification of this piece was made shortly before finalising this volume. P.C. 7 - 9 are late additions to the work, which I (IG) thought worthwhile to include here for a wider scholarly discussion despite some obvious questions remaining.

SECTION B: SYRIAC TEXTS  
(Majella Franzmann and Iain Gardner)

INTRODUCTION

*Description:*

The finds of Manichaean texts in Syriac from Kellis are both remarkable and (in good part) unique. They help to solve a number of questions for scholarship; not least the question of the script of Mani (see *infra*), and as to whether the Medinet Madi codices were direct translations from the Syriac or through the medium of Greek.

This second problem may be said to be wrongly framed. In that it is difficult to imagine a translator in this context as being fluent in Syriac and Coptic, but not knowing Greek at all; then Greek (and noting the loan words in both languages<sup>271</sup>) must to some extent have been a medium through which transmission could be made. Nevertheless, what these bilingual glossaries<sup>272</sup> (written first in Syriac and then Coptic) show is a concern for the Syriac origins of the texts; i.e. the community at Kellis did not refer back to any Greek ‘originals’ for their psalms, rather they knew that the basis was Syriac.

Thus, the glossaries edited here are understood to be evidence for the translation of Manichaean scriptures directly into Coptic; ‘direct’ in the sense of all at one time, whether or not Greek could be an oral median point for this translation. It can not be supposed that these glossaries record the actual moment of translation. The finding of such an ‘autographed’ text at Ismant el-Kharab is inherently unlikely in the extreme, not to mention the arguments for initial translation some decades earlier.

Therefore, these finds must evidence the already mentioned concern for the Syriac origins of textual material used by the community in praxis; and that the community was not so long established that it had lost the proper usage of Syriac. As regards this, the finding of Syriac on the address of a Greek personal letter<sup>273</sup> shows that it was a living language for at least some people connected to the Kellis church.

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<sup>271</sup> See the instructive example of the Manichaean technical term βῆμα which is found even in the Parthian texts, e.g. Sundermann 1990: 136

<sup>272</sup> Bilingual word-lists were also part of the Central Asian tradition of the Manichaeans, e.g. see Sundermann - Zieme 1981

<sup>273</sup> P. Kell. Gr. 67 in Worp 1995: 178 - 179



We argue that the two glossaries edited here are best understood as exercises in translation, for whatever reason, undertaken within the actual community. In T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1 the poorer of the Coptic writers has distinct difficulties; this would suggest some kind of learning practice. In contrast, the terminology of T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2 is highly technical, showing a much advanced state of knowledge and concern for correct detail.

In general, these finds again make apparent the importance of textuality for the Manichaeans; and at the same time their evident willingness to employ the vernacular in the missionary endeavour. These features can be traced back to the genius of Mani himself.

*The Manichaean Syriac of the Kellis material:*

The finds at Ismant el-Kharab are the largest so far made of Manichaean material written in Syriac. The very limited fragments known of previously are discussed in Burkitt<sup>274</sup> and Lieu<sup>275</sup>; although neither mentions the Syriac on the so-called seal of Mani, which must be counted also as an important witness<sup>276</sup>.


There have been a number of studies of the actual Manichaean script, for it is individual in style. In his report on the character of the Manichaean script in the *Fihrist an-Nadîm* states that it was a totally new composition, and that it was created for the purpose of secrecy<sup>277</sup>. He describes the script as a composition from Persian and Syriac, with more numerous letters than the Arabic alphabet<sup>278</sup>. However, the individual letters reproduced in Flügel's commentary are hardly recognisable as those found from Kellis (or as illustrated in photographic plates of Middle Persian manuscripts).

Of the modern studies, Lidzbarski names the script as Aramaic, but distinguishes it from the Syriac Estrangelo<sup>279</sup>. On the other hand, Widengren sums up as follows: "The script

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<sup>274</sup> Burkitt 1925: 111 - 119

<sup>275</sup> Lieu 1994: 62 - 4

<sup>276</sup> There is a good photo reproduction in Decret 1974: 70; cf. also Klimkeit 1982: pl. XXXII. Both authors translate as: 'Mani, the Apostle of Jesus Christ'. The text reads as follows: 



<sup>277</sup> Flügel 1862: 166, 168

<sup>278</sup> Ibid. 167. See also Lidzbarski 1927

<sup>279</sup> Lidzbarski 1916: 1216 (and see 1221), "Die aramäische Schrift Mesopotamiens, die wir besonders aus Edessa und dessen Nachbarschaft kennen, ist neben dem südlichen Zweige des Alphabetes durch

invented and employed by Mani ... consisted of a type of lettering approximate in line to that cultivated at Edessa ... But it drew still nearer to the older form of Mandaean line ... His language can be called eastern Aramaic, a branch identical with or at least almost indistinguishable from Edessene Syriac". Of the tiny remains of Syriac, already found then in Egypt, Widengren says that the script and matter are: "indubitably Manichaean and some minor departures from established Edessene Syriac do not affect the issue. Our knowledge of early Edessene is imperfect and it is permissible to adhere to the view that the speech encountered in these fragments is practically identical with the classical Syriac of Edessa<sup>280</sup>". Also, Klimkeit comments on the lettering of the Mani seal that it was 'a sort of Estrangelo script<sup>281</sup>'. In fact, the Manichaean script was an adopted Aramaic that was used for their works in Iranian and other central Asian languages, as well as the Syriac of the ur-community<sup>282</sup>.

In his study of the first Syriac fragments, Burkitt commented that Margoliouth misapprehended the Manichaean alphabet, but he neglected to say anything about the script or to explain why Margoliouth made such errors.<sup>283</sup> Lieu mentions Margoliouth without explanation of the errors; but he does give some examples of the script, most of which are similar to what is found at Kellis (only the  $\text{ܟ}$  is distinctively different)<sup>284</sup>. Also, Henning includes a 'Transliterationsschema' at the conclusion of the third volume on the Middle Iranian manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan<sup>285</sup>. Again, most of these letters are very close in form, with only minimal differences for  $\text{ܟ}$  and  $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$  and  $\text{ܟ}$  On the Mani seal: the  $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$   $\text{ܟ}$  and  $\text{ܟ}$  are much as from Kellis.

Despite the fact that there are a variety of hands to be identified in T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1 and 2, P. Kell. Syr. / Gr. 1, and P. Kell. Syr. 1, there is enough similarity in the formation of the letters to give the following table:

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Jahrhunderte ihren eigenen Weg gegangen, und sie hat zum Teil ältere Formen bewahrt. Die manichäische Schrift ist von ihr zu trennen."

<sup>280</sup> Widengren 1965: 74 - 5 In this volume we (MF / IG) have generally used the term Syriac, but on its appropriateness vis-à-vis Aramaic see also the comments e.g. by Wurst 1995: 35f. + n.4

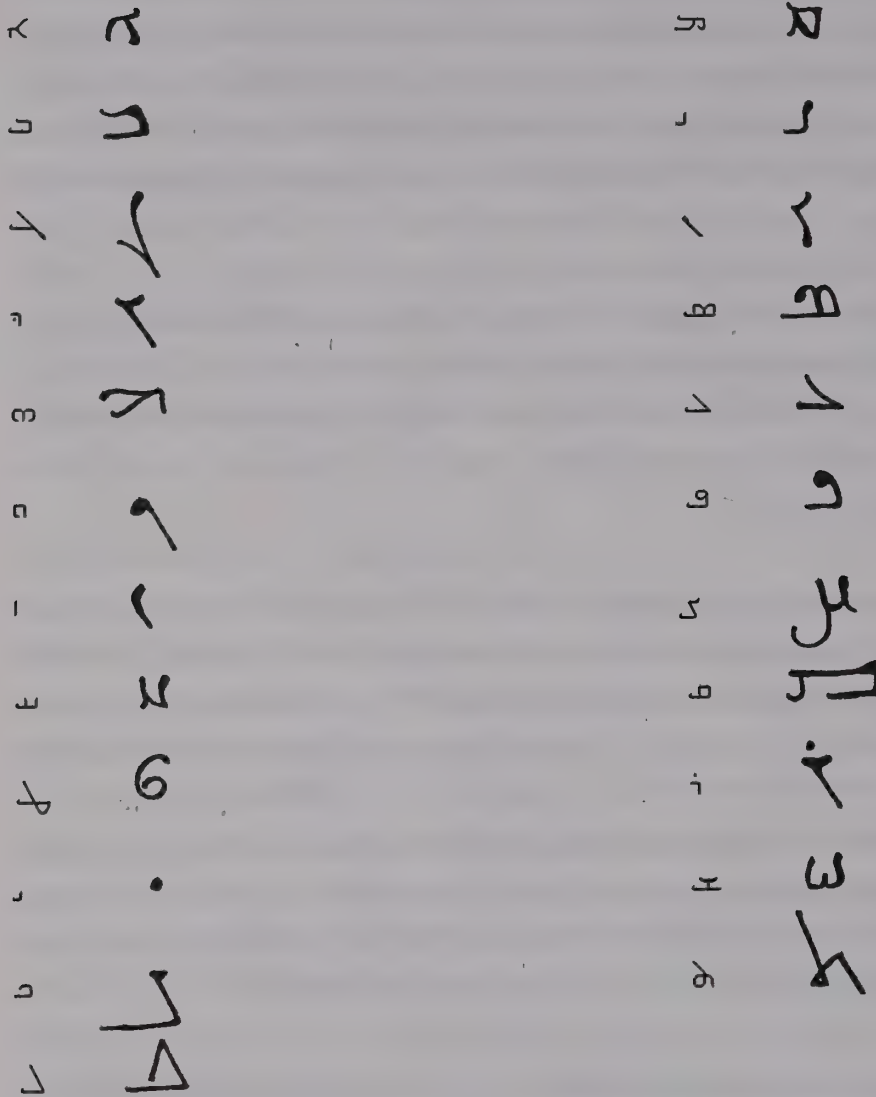
<sup>281</sup> Klimkeit 1982: 50

<sup>282</sup> E.g. Lieu 1985: 64

<sup>283</sup> Burkitt, op. cit., 115

<sup>284</sup> Lieu 1994: 64

<sup>285</sup> MM 2: 66



Of the various pieces, P. Kell. Syr. / Gr. 1 has the most well-formed script and is closest to that artistic style one sees in the photographic plates in Klimkeit's volume. In contrast to the other hands, this script is consistent both in the small detail of the formation of letters and in the size of the letters. There is more similarity in style between the other hands on T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1 and 2. Of these, those on '1' are much less impressive; but this could be due in part to the difficulty of writing with the grain of the wood rather than against, as is the case with the second board.

## T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1

**Inv #** A/5/239

**EAO #** 2117

**Site:** House 3, room 2, level 3

**Description:** 56 - 62 x 87 x 1 - 3.5mm. Lower part of a wooden board. Margins (Syriac text): side a, 9mm rh and 11mm lower; side b, 9mm rh and 5mm lower.

**Dialect:** (Coptic) *L.*

**Content:** Syriac - Coptic glossary of terms and phrases from liturgical (?) texts. Side a: two columns of Syriac written first, the Coptic added in parallel. Side b: one column of the same; but the glosses are less complete, and the Coptic is a different and coarser hand, as also is the Syriac. Perhaps side b was added after, to utilise available writing space; but this can only be hypothetical. There is no continuity in content apparent from a to b.

The texts from which the glosses were made are presumed to have been Manichaean. This can not be demonstrated from the content in itself; but the terminology is consistent.

**Purpose:** Probably an exercise.

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

Side a, rh column

1	ΔΝΤΕΚΟ	ⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟ
2	ΔϠϢΔϩⲠⲚ̄	ⲉϣⲏⲕ
3	ΔⲚ̄ⲣ̄Ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲉ	ⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟ
4	Ⲛ̄ⲧϠⲠⲞϢ	ⲕⲙⲉⲛⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟ <sup>286</sup>
5	ΔⲚⲠⲱⲛⲉ <sup>287</sup>	ⲉϣⲟⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟ
6	ΕΟϠΕΝ	ⲕⲏⲛ
7	ΔⲚϣⲉ ΔⲧⲠⲉ <sup>288</sup>	ⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟ

<sup>286</sup> The Greek loan word is τύπος

<sup>287</sup> Both the Syriac and Coptic can be active or passive.

<sup>288</sup> This is an unusual usage (with ϣⲉ) in the Coptic, without recorded parallels in Medinet Madi texts.



8	ΔΝΩΨ ΕΖΔΜ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
9		ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ <sup>289</sup>
10	ΔΝΚΩΤΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
11	ΤΡΟΧΟΣ <sup>290</sup>	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
12	Μῆ̄ ΝΕΤΣΑΡΜ̄	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
13	ΔΝΡ̄ΠΛΑΝΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ <sup>291</sup>

lh column

14	traces	
15	ΔΝΣΩ[[Ο]]Ϻ ΔϺΟϺΝ	[...]ܘ [...]ܘ <sup>292</sup>
16	ΔΝ† ΔΔΩΝ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
17	ΠΕΚΔΙΣΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
18	Ϻ̄Ν ΠΕΚΣΜΔΜΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
19	Ϻ̄Μ ΠΕΚΣΑΪΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
20	ΔΝΟϺΡΔΤ <sup>293</sup>	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ <sup>294</sup>
21	ΔΝΡ̄ ΔΩΡΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
22	ΔΝΨΩΛḲ̄	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ <sup>295</sup>
23	ΔΝΚΑ ϺΤΗΝ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
24	ΔΝΔΩΚ <sup>296</sup>	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
25	Ϻ̄Ν ΠΕΚΣ†ΝΟϺΥΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
26	ΔΝΔΙ ΝΔΙΟ <sup>297</sup>	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
27	ΔΝΡΕΨΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ
28	ΔΝΡ̄ ΨΑΪΕ	ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ <sup>298</sup>

<sup>289</sup> The ܘ is very damaged, and the ending is also very unclear.

<sup>290</sup> Writ as Greek.

<sup>291</sup> The word is very badly written in the Syriac. The verb occurs in its passive form in line 3 above.

<sup>292</sup> There is space for another short word, perhaps three letters, before the ܘ. The second word is probably ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ. The very bottom of the letters are showing, but only the ܘ is unmistakable.

<sup>293</sup> Perhaps ΔΝΟϺΡΔΤ̄. It would be tempting to read ΟϺΔΣΤΝ ('widened'), which provides a more convincing translation of the Syriac, except that the ϩ can not be read as an Δ.

<sup>294</sup> The third letter is difficult to read. If it is ܘ then the right hand side of the letter has been badly smudged almost to resemble a round dot, or ܘ. Compare also T. S/C. 2,109

<sup>295</sup> The word might also be read as ܕܢܘܫܘܥܗܘܘܢ ('we were glad').

<sup>296</sup> Perhaps for ΔΩΚ<Μ> ('wash').

<sup>297</sup> Or ΝΨΟ

<sup>298</sup> This word is very difficult to decipher, with (at least) two possibilities. There appears to be a letter between ܘ and ܘ. Either this second letter is a mistake and has been crossed through, leaving the reading

29		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁ
30		ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ <sup>299</sup>
31		ⲓⲛⲁⲛ
32	ΠΕΚΝΑΩΤΕ	ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ

side b

33		traces <sup>300</sup>
34	ΚΑΚΙΑ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛ
35	ΤΕΚΡΕΪΤΕ	ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁ
36	ΤΑΓΑΛΗ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁ
37a	ΚΑΤ̄ <sup>301</sup>	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ <sup>302</sup>
37b	ΤΕΧΝΗ	
38		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ
39		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ <sup>303</sup>
40	ΝΕΣΜΕΡΕΤΕ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ
41		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛ
42		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲁ
43		ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛ
44	Θ̄Β̄ΣΩ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛ
45	ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ <sup>304</sup>
46	ΝΑΤΩΔ̄	ⲛⲉⲛⲁ
47	ϣⲚ	ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ <sup>305</sup>

at ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ('we have been delivered', 'we escaped') or perhaps ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ('we were glad'), as in T. S/C. 2.133 and perhaps in line 22 above; or the second letter is ⲓ and the reading is meant to be ⲛⲉⲛⲁ ('there is') with perhaps ⲛⲉⲛⲁ ('a passover').

<sup>299</sup> It might also be possible to read ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ ('we were strengthened').

<sup>300</sup> There may be two words, the first of which is short (three letters?) perhaps ending in ⲛ

<sup>301</sup> See Crum 127b. The Coptic translation seems to have come through the Greek τέχνη

<sup>302</sup> Also in Theodor bar Koni, *Scholia* 317.19,2 ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ 'by his art'.

<sup>303</sup> The second letter is difficult to read because of smudging. There also appears to be an ⲛ written before the ⲛ but it is very faint and not shaped exactly as the other examples of this letter. It seems more as if the scribe began to write the initial ⲛ and then realised it was too high (perhaps because of the ⲓ in the previous word), and began again slightly lower.

<sup>304</sup> The Coptic seems to be a mistranslation: for 'his fruits' the Syriac would have to have read ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ

<sup>305</sup> One expects ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ

**Translation**<sup>306</sup>:

## Side a, rh column

1	we were destroyed <sup>307</sup>	<b>we were destroyed</b>
2	we were swallowed <sup>308</sup>	<b>we were swallowed</b>
3	we were led astray	<b>and we were led astray</b>
4	archetypes	<b>archetype/s</b>
5	we have turned	<b>and we have turned</b>
6	colour	<b>colour</b>
7	we have gone to heaven / up	<b>we have gone up</b>
8	we have sighed	<b>and our sighing</b>
9		<b>depth/s</b>
10	we were surrounded	<b>we were surrounded</b>
11	wheel	<b>wheel</b>
12	with they who are lost	<b>being lost</b>
13	we have erred	<b>we have erred</b>

## lh column

14	(traces)	
15	we have gathered together	
16	we have put on us	<b>we have put on</b>
17	your heights <sup>309</sup>	<b>in your heights</b>
18	in your blessing	<b>in your blessing</b>
19	in your beauty	<b>in your beauty</b>
20	we have been refreshed	<b>we were relieved</b> <sup>310</sup>
21	we were strengthened	<b>we were strengthened</b>
22	we have cut / pierced	<b>we were victorious</b> <sup>311</sup>
23	we have trusted	<b>and we have trusted</b>
24	we have completed	<b>and we have been anointed</b>
25	by your perfume	<b>by your perfume</b>
26	we have received ... <sup>312?</sup>	<b>and we have refreshed ourselves</b>

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<sup>306</sup> Translation from the Syriac in bold.

<sup>307</sup> The Coptic can be either active or passive.

<sup>308</sup> Lit. 'they have swallowed us'.

<sup>309</sup> Lit. 'height' (both Coptic and Syriac).

<sup>310</sup> May also mean 'we were enlarged'.

<sup>311</sup> Or 'we excelled'.

<sup>312</sup> Sense unclear.

27	we have rejoiced	<b>and we have rejoiced</b>
28	we have made a festival	<b>we escaped</b>
29		<b>in the stretch of his heights</b>
30		<b>we were perfected</b>
31		<b>we have established</b>
32	your faith	<b>and your faith</b>

side b

33		(traces <sup>313</sup> )
34	evil	<b>evil</b>
35	your kindred	<b>your kindred</b>
36	love	<b>love</b>
37a	cunning	<b>craft</b>
37b	cunning / craft	
38		<b>and the worthy one/s (fem.)</b>
39		<b>and which (is) constraining</b>
40	her loved ones	<b>her loved ones<sup>314</sup></b>
41		<b>and it returned<sup>315</sup></b>
42		<b>by him and it forced<sup>316</sup></b>
43		<b>and moved<sup>317</sup> him</b>
44	the garment	<b>garment</b>
45	his fruits	<b>and they missed<sup>318</sup> him</b>
46	the unceasing ones	<b>he has ceased<sup>319</sup></b>
47	measure	<b>being measured</b>

**Format:** Most of the pairs (or lines in the text) appear to be discrete; apart from lines 24 - 25 ('anointed<sup>l</sup> by your perfume'), and perhaps 28 - 29 and 41 - 43, which may be taken as continuous.

A reasonable hypothesis is that the terms and phrases on **side a** (lines 1-32) were taken from an actual religious text; probably Manichaean in origin, and of liturgical and

<sup>313</sup> There may be two words, the first of which is short (three letters?) perhaps ending in Ⲡ

<sup>314</sup> Reading Δ as the sign of the direct object; it could also be translated as 'to'.

<sup>315</sup> Also 'flowed back', 'converted', 'repented'.

<sup>316</sup> Also 'pressed'.

<sup>317</sup> Also 'lifted', 'extolled', 'adorned'.

<sup>318</sup> In the sense of 'failed to hit'.

<sup>319</sup> Also 'perfected', 'finished'.



communal usage. There appear to be the start of a series of strophes (or responses by the congregation) in the 1st person plural. These begin with confessions of sin and loss before moving on to spiritual triumph with rejoicing and perfection<sup>320</sup>. Much of the terminology is repeatedly found in the *Psalm-Book*. The writers also seem to have recorded words of especial significance: in particular Greek loan words that have a virtual technical status in Manichaeism (lines 4 and 11); and also the unusual term  $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\eta$ <sup>321</sup> (line 6).

The content of the presumed text utilised by Coptic **scribe b** (lines 33-47) for his only partially successful attempts at translation is very unclear. The most that can be said is that such terminology is commonly found in the Medinet Madi codices.

**Comment:** There are a number of problems and points of interest as regards the Syriac and Coptic pairs. From the layout it would appear certain that the Syriac was written first. The Coptic is then added as a clear attempt to translate the given term or phrase. Sometimes this is rather loosely done, as in line 17 which fails to record the preposition. However, in general the pairing is clear enough.

Nevertheless, there are occasions where the pairing is problematic, and these are of most interest. At line 22 the discrepancy could be explained if it were presumed that the Coptic and Syriac record different though related parts of the background text. In this instance the original might read something like: ‘we pierced (something), we were victorious’. There is some evidence for such a process in T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2 (see *infra*). This would then indicate that the Coptic scribe had access not just to the written Syriac on the board, but also to the original text in written or more probably oral form.

This raises the question as to whether the Syriac is mediated through Greek. An important point can be found at line 37. Here the Syriac for ‘craft (as in art and work)’ is glossed by the Coptic for ‘cunning’ or ‘guile’; to which has then been added the Greek word that means both. The same duality of meaning as here is also found in modern English. The example would seem to suggest that the Greek word was an oral median point; and that explains what must be regarded as a mistake by the Coptic scribe, which has then been corrected.

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<sup>320</sup> Alternatively, the more pessimistic tone of the rh column, as compared with the lh, may suggest two separate texts.

<sup>321</sup> Not recorded from the edited Medinet Madi texts.

This should not be taken as an argument for any written Greek translation between the Syriac and Coptic; rather it is better understood that spoken Greek (perhaps only words as loaned) was part of the conversation that lies behind what is recorded on the board. The general thesis that the Coptic scribe was attempting, not always successfully, to directly translate the written Syriac is supported by line 45. The nonsensical pairing found here seems best understood as a simple misreading of the Syriac by a not very competent translator. Indeed Coptic scribe b appears to have failed entirely to translate half his lines, as well as making mistakes. It is for such reasons that the board can best be understood as an exercise.

## T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2

**Inv #** A/5/196

**EAO #** 2001

**Site:** House 3, room 6, level 3

**Description:** 5 frgs. and 1 'splinter' from the upper part of a wooden board. Maximums: 213 x 92mm. Margins: side a, 12mm upper and 47mm lh; side b, 11mm upper and 4mm mid.

**Dialect:** (Coptic) *L.*

**Content:** Syriac - Coptic glossary of terms and phrases from cosmological and eschatological text/s. Side a: one column of Syriac written first, then the Coptic added in parallel. Side b: two columns of the same; with the Coptic sometimes abbreviated and 'fitted' in and around or above the Syriac. Order of the sides is unknown, though the lh column of side b can be presumed to follow the rh.

The text/s from which the glosses were made were certainly Manichaean; on the basis of the specialised terminology and details of doctrine, as well as the general context.

**Purpose:** Probably an exercise.

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

side a

- 1     ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ... [322
- 2     ερε σοσμῆτεϥ[τε οσαῆϥ<sup>323</sup>
- 3     ⲁβδλ ερε σοσμ[
- 4     πμαρδαῖπε οσαλε [
- 5     ετασνεσ αραϥ . [
- 6     ετασρ̄ βδλ αραϥ [
- 7     ετασθ̄μακαρ ἡρη† . [

<sup>322</sup> There are faint traces of another word before ⲁⲃⲁⲗ but the letters are indistinguishable.

<sup>323</sup> See line 12

8     ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ ΣΚΥΛΛΑ ΝΟΥΗΤ= [   
 9     ΔΗ ΣΟΦΜΗΤΕΣΔ   
 10    ⲩⲁⲗⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲧⲩⲥ   
 11    ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [   
 12    ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲧⲩⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲟ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ   
 13    ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [   
 14    ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁ ⲕⲓⲛⲟ ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [   
 15    ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲏⲧⲉⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ   
 16    ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲏⲓⲱⲛⲟ [   
 17    ΤΟΤΕ ΔΗ ΣΟΦΜΗΤΗ ΕΤΕ [   
 18    ⲁⲙⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲗⲣⲏⲓ   
 19    (vac)           ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲗⲣⲏⲓ   
 20    ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [324   
 21    ⲩⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲧⲩⲙⲏⲛ [   
 22    ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ [325   
 23    ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [   
 24    ⲕⲓⲓ ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [326   
 25    ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲩⲏ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲩ [   
 26    ⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ· ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲧ   
 27    ⲩⲁⲥⲡⲱⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲁ [           ⲁ ]   
 28    ⲟⲩⲛ ⲩⲁ ⲡⲏⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ   
 29    ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ                   ⲕⲓⲛⲁ [.....] ⲕⲓ . [   
 30    ⲙⲏ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ               ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [ . ] ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲓ [327   
 31    ⲉⲩⲩⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲛ         ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ [328 ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ [   
 32    ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [329   
 33    ⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲩⲱⲡⲥ· ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲁⲗⲡ [   
 34    ⲩⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ                         ] ⲕⲓⲛⲁ [330 ⲕⲓⲛⲁ . . ⲕⲓ   
 35    ⲩⲁⲩⲙⲙⲉ                             ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [   
 36    ⲉⲩⲩⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ [                       ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ [

324 Perhaps: ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲣⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ... ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ ('on the twenty-... day of the month').

325 Perhaps: ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ ('on the twenty-eighth day').

326 See also ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲓⲛⲁ Ephrem, *Hypatius* 26.29-30,41 178.47-48

327 Perhaps ⲕⲓⲛⲁ

328 The line of Syriac runs into the Coptic and it is difficult to make out the ending of the second word. It may be ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ('bringing in') or perhaps ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ or ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ('their bringing in').

329 Probably: ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓ ('their knowledge').

330 Probably: ⲕⲓⲛⲁ ('knowing').



37	ϣαρε ποτασπ[ασμο]ς	ⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩ <sup>331</sup>
38	ϣασει δ . . [ . . . ] . . μα	]ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲓⲃⲓ <sup>332</sup> ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲁ
39	ϣαροσ η[ . . . . ]ημ	]ⲁ ⲕⲁⲗⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ
40	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲧⲁ ⲓⲛ ⲕ[ . . . . ⲕ]ⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲟⲩ[	
41	ⲕ]ⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁ ⲕⲥ[ . . . . ]ⲁ ⲛⲁ . . . . [	
42	ΤΟΤΕ ϣασϣωπ` . [ . . . ] ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲙ	
43	μεσ πεταϣⲛ̄ τ[ . . η]ⲛ̄̄ ηⲗⲓ ⲛ̄̄ⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ . . [	
44	ⲛ̄̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄̄ ⲛ̄̄ⲥ[ⲉ	]ⲓⲛⲁⲕⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁ
45	ⲕⲉⲗⲁ ⲟⲩ[ . ]ⲓⲛⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲥⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲟⲩ[	
46	ΤΟΤΕ ϣα <sup>333</sup> ρε πρ[ . . . . ]ε	]ⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲟ
47	πωρⲁ̄ [ . ] ⲁβδ[λ] ⲛ̄̄[	
48	ϣασμαρε ⲙⲡ . [	
49	ϣαϣ† ⲛ̄̄ⲟ[	
50	ⲁⲓⲣⲉϣⲟⲩⲱ[	
51	[ . ]ⲁ . [	

side b, rh column

52	ⲛ̄̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲣ ⲁβδλ	ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩⲕ[ⲟ
53	ϣασεοσεν	ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ
54	ϣασσωλ ρητοσ	ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲃⲁ
55	ⲛ̄̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄̄ⲁⲟⲛ <sup>334</sup>	ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ <sup>335</sup>
56	ϣασϣⲙⲛⲉ	ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲕ . . [
57	ⲛ̄̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁβ/	ⲉ[ . . . ] <sup>336</sup> ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲟ
58	ⲛ̄̄ϣ̄ⲣⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓ ⲙ̄̄ⲙⲁⲟ	ⲛⲙⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁ
59	ⲛ̄̄ϣ̄ⲁⲗⲁⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛⲙⲕ ⲕⲁⲗⲁ
60	ϣαϣⲧⲛ̄̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲁβδλ	ⲙⲟⲩ

331 Perhaps ⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩ ('their ascent').

332 The line is very difficult to read and this second word is very unsure.

333 There appears to be a lacuna here with space for three letters. However, it is tempting to wonder whether the surface of the board was already abraded in antiquity, and if the scribe wrote around the space. Lines 46-47 could then easily be restored to read: 'then shall the day separate from the night'. The spelling of ροοσⲉ would need to be taken into account at lines 15 and 69

334 *Homs.* 41,13-14 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲗ ⲛ̄̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲛ̄̄ⲁⲟⲛ (velum) and *PsBk* 2. 84,30

127,29

335 The word is very unclear. Perhaps it is a form of ⲓⲛⲟⲩ ('to be dazed, confounded'). It might also be ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩ ('workers'). There does not seem to be a possibility of an equivalent to the Coptic.

336 Perhaps: ⲛⲙⲕ ('them').

61	ΝΕΤΑΘΕΪ ΔΥΡΒΑΛ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ <sup>337</sup> ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ .. [
62	ΨΑΘΠΗΣΣΕ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
63	Ν̄ΣΕΘΩΤῸ Δῆ/	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
64	Ν̄ΣΕΣΘΤΩΤΟΣ ΝΔΙ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
65	ΨΑΘΜΩΝῚ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
66	ΨΑΘΕΙ ΔΥΘΘΝ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
67 <sup>338</sup>	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [	
68	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . [	
69	ΠΥΘΘ ΕΤΕΨΑΥΘΩΝῸ	
70	ΝΗΤῚ ΔΒΔΛ ΕΨΑΥΔΙ	
71	ΕΣΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΠΕΥΔΑΪ ῶΝ ΠΟΤΑΪΝ[Ε	
72	ΔΤΡΟΘΝΟΘῸΜΕ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ <sup>339</sup> [..] ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ
73	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [	
74	Ν̄ΤΑΘ ΝΕ . . ΙΕ ΨΑΡΕ .	
75	ΤΡΟΘΔΪΝΕ Ν̄ῶΗΤΟΣ	
76	ΨΑΥΜΟΘῸ ῶΝ ΠΕΥ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [
77	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . . . [	
78	ΕΥΨΑΜΟΘῸ ΔΕ Ν̄ῶΔΩΚ Ν̄ΔΙΔΙ	
79	Ν̄ΣΕΔΩῸῸ ΝΗΙ/	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [
80	ΕΤΑΘΔΩΚ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [
81	Ν̄ΣΕΨΩΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟΘῸ	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . [
82	ΠΕΤΣΒΤΑΤ` ΡΩ ΗΕΘ	
83	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . . [	
84	ΨΑΥΡῸΜΑΤ` ΝΕΘ	
85	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . [	
86	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . . . . . [	
87	ΤΕΤΕΨΑΥΣΑΛΠΙΣ ΗΕΘ Δῆ[ΔΛ . . ] ΗΥΟ[Θ]	
88	ΔΗῸῸ ΔΡΑΘ	
89	ΔΒΔΛ Ν̄ΤΕΜΗΡΕ ΜΠ[	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ . . . [340
90	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [	
91	Μ̄ΠΝΕΘ ΕΤΜ̄ΜΕΘ Ν̄ . . . . . [	
92	ΤΕΨΑΘῸΩΨΤ Ν̄ΣΕΝΕΘ . ΔΙ . . [	
93	Ν̄ΣΕΘΡΟΘΩΡ . .	ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ [

337 Perhaps ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ ('they were allowed to escape').

338 There is a bracket drawn from lines 67 - 71

339 Perhaps: ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ ('they were saved').

340 Perhaps: ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓⲛⲉⲧⲁⲑⲉⲓ ('inundation').

- 94    ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁ . ⲗⲣⲟⲓⲛⲁ . ⲕ . [
- 95    ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ<sup>341</sup> ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ . . ⲁ . (traces)
- 96    ⲱⲁϣⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ . . . ⲛⲉ[
- 97    ⲛⲁⲃⲁ
- 98    ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ<sup>342</sup> ]ⲛⲟ
- 99    ⲧⲈⲧⲈⲱⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁⲣⲃⲣⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ
- 100    ⲗⲣⲟⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲕⲁ[
- 101    ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲕⲁ[
- 102    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ[
- 103    ] . ⲱⲉ    ⲗⲣⲟⲓⲛⲁ[
- 104    ] . ⲛ̄ⲥⲈⲱⲱⲗ ⲙ . [
- 105    ]ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲈ[
- 106    ] . [

side b, lh column

- 107    ]ⲕⲁ<sup>343</sup> ⲕⲟⲙ ⲓⲁⲩⲉ
- 108    ] ⲙⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲈⲚⲛⲁⲧⲙⲈ .
- 109    ⲛ̄ⲥⲈⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 110    (vac) ⲱⲁⲥⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱⲣⲈ    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 111    ⲱⲁⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟ    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 112    ] . ϥ ⲁⲓⲉⲩⲧⲈ    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 113    ⲗⲣⲟⲓⲛⲁ
- 114    ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲈⲟⲩⲧ    ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ
- 115    (vac) ⲛ̄ⲥⲈⲕⲱⲛⲥ    ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ
- 116    ]ⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓ    ⲗⲣⲟⲓⲛⲁ
- 117    ] ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ    ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 118    ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲈⲱⲱⲧ    ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ
- 119    . ]ⲕ ⲕ ⲕ ⲕ ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ<sup>344</sup> ⲓⲁⲓⲁ
- 120    ] . ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲈ .
- 121    ] Ⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧ

<sup>341</sup> Apparently a nominal form of **ⲥⲱⲛⲉ** ('to bring near' causative of **ⲁⲛ**) although the final **Ⲉ** is not entirely convincing.

<sup>342</sup> The first part of the word is relatively clear. Where the **ⲓ** should occur, there seems to be space for two letters, but the split in the board makes for some difficulty.

<sup>343</sup> The part of the letter visible after **ⲕ** suggests **ⲁ** **ⲓ** or **�**

<sup>344</sup> The word is very difficult to read. There appears to be a smudged letter before the **�** (or perhaps a

**ⲕ**) Certainly the amount of space left after the **ⲓ** is unusual if another letter is not to be read.

122	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ	
123	ⲁⲅⲓⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
124	ⲁⲓⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
125	] . ϣⲧⲟⲩ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕⲛ
126	] ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ	
127	ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ	
128	]ⲛ <sup>345</sup> ⲁⲃⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ <sup>346</sup>	
129	ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ	
130	]ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕⲛ
131	ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ	ⲁⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩ <sup>347</sup>
132	]ⲙⲙⲉⲕ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
133	] ⲁⲛⲣⲓⲉⲩⲉ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
134	] ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲱⲁϣ[ . . . . ]ⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩⲟⲩ	ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ
135	]ⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲅⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲣⲓⲩⲉⲩ	ⲕⲁⲓⲕ ⲕⲁⲓⲕ
136	(vac) ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
137	] ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲕⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲅⲣⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲱⲧ	
138	ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲕⲓⲛⲁ	
139	] ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧ . [ . ]ⲙⲏⲧⲥⲁⲛ	
140	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ	
141	]ⲧⲙⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲣⲉ <sup>348</sup>	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ <sup>349</sup> ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ
142	]ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ
143	]ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ	ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ
144	] ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲛ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ
145	] ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲉⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲛⲉⲧⲏⲉ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ <sup>350</sup>
146	]ⲙⲉⲧⲛⲉⲧⲏⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ[ . . . . ] <sup>351</sup> ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲧⲏ	
147	]ⲙⲉⲧⲛⲉⲧⲏⲉ <sup>352</sup> ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉⲧⲛⲉⲧⲏⲉ	
148	(vac) ⲙⲧⲁⲛ . . . . ]ⲙⲙⲟⲧⲏ	ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ

<sup>345</sup> Probably ⲉⲧⲩⲱⲟⲟ]ⲛ

<sup>346</sup> Possible to read ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁ

<sup>347</sup> There is a ⲛ written slightly askew (leaning down towards the right side) above the word between ⲙ and the initial ⲕ, its right hand lower edge touching the top of the ⲕ

<sup>348</sup> Cf. *Keph.* 136,16

<sup>349</sup> From the Coptic one would have expected ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁ 'new'. Has the Coptic scribe misunderstood the two very similar words?

<sup>350</sup> One expects the full form ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ

<sup>351</sup> Presumably ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲉⲓ, though the traces are not convincing.

<sup>352</sup> Presumably ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲕ ('rest yourselves'). The first word is very smudged in the middle.



149	(vac) [ ]	ΜΕΤΝΕΤΗΝΕ	ܡܡܢܢ
150	]ΔΥΩΨΥ̅	Μ[ . . . . ]	ܡܡܢܢ ܕܝܘܕܝܢܢ
151	(vac) [ ]	ΔΡ (vac) ΜΕ	
152	] ΜΠΕΤΝΩΠ <sup>353</sup>	ΔΤΕ[ . . . . ]	ܝܘܕܝܢܢ
153	] . . . .		
154	] ΔΜΗΨΗΝΕ	ΒΩ[Κ ΓΕ Δ]	ܠܠܢ
155	ΝΑΤΩΛ	ΔΝ[ΗΩΕ] <sup>354</sup>	ܠܠܢ ܠܠܢ
156	Μ[ . . . . ]	ΤΝΤΩΓΕ	ܠܠܢ ܠܠܢ
157	] ΜΜΩΤΝ		ܠܠܢ ܠܠܢ
158			
159			
160			
161	] . . . . ]		

### Translation<sup>356</sup>:

side a

- 1 ] **and it began**<sup>357</sup>
- 2 while fourteenth [is visible];
- 3 while ...-th<sup>358</sup> [
- 4 the filling up overflows [
- 5 when (?) they looked at it [
- 6 that they loosened<sup>359</sup> [
- 7 that they were afflicted [
- 8 the one that was vexed [
- 9 from sixteenth
- 10 up to twenty-ninth [
- 11 ] **and twenty**
- 12 while twenty-ninth [is visible
- 13 ] **and twenty**

<sup>353</sup> Perhaps this should be emended to **ΩΤΠ** ('shut')?

<sup>354</sup> Cf. *Keph.* 111,5-6

<sup>355</sup> Has the Syriac scribe written ϫ instead of ϫ (ܝܘܕܝܢܢ - 'shining')?

<sup>356</sup> Translation from the Syriac text in bold.

<sup>357</sup> Also 'it came'.

<sup>358</sup> Probably: 'fifteenth'.

<sup>359</sup> Or: 'escaped to it'.

14 ] ... **it was their bringing forth**<sup>360</sup>  
 15 in the other fourteen days [  
 16 namely the fulness of these lives [  
 17 then from fifteenth ... [  
 18 to travel up  
 19 (vac) and it comes up [  
 20 ] **and twenty of the month**  
 21 to twenty-eight [  
 22 ] ... **twenty-eight**  
 23 ] **and twenty. Comes**<sup>361</sup>  
 24 **a ship that is shining greatly**  
 25 And in the night ... [  
 26 come forth, while twenty-...th [  
 27 it shall attain, namely its [...],  
 28 in to the great ship  
 29 in the one that gives ] ...  
 30 and the other one that receives ] ... **other and receiving**  
 31 indeed as they shall bring in ] **when bringing in**  
 32 ] **their knowledge (?), in the revealing of the faces**  
 33 and their knowledge receives it with an unveiled aspect ('face') [  
 34 they shall know ... [  
 35 they shall understand ] ... **calling**  
 36 as they shall know [ ] **when they shall know**  
**the end**<sup>362</sup>  
 37 shall their kiss ] ...  
 38 it shall come [...] **serenity comes in**<sup>363</sup> [  
 39 [...] ] **thus the entrance**<sup>364</sup> **to**  
 ... [  
 40 ] **at that time**<sup>365</sup> **the Lord ... it, a gift**  
 41 ] ... **by means of water** [  
 42 then they shall give [...] that thanks,  
 43 the one who brought [...] to me, namely the Father, the [

<sup>360</sup> Also 'travail', 'birth'.

<sup>361</sup> Also 'arrives'.

<sup>362</sup> Also 'limit', 'extreme', 'total'. The line is very smudged and difficult to read.

<sup>363</sup> Also 'enters', 'begins', 'returns'.

<sup>364</sup> Also 'commencement'.

<sup>365</sup> If ܩܘܩ precedes ܩܘܩܘܩ, then it would read 'after this'.

44	and they come in, and they [	] it (fem.) advanced and ... bound <sup>366</sup> [
45	] at that time separating [...] ship	
46	then shall [...]	] the turn of the day [
47	separate [	
48	they shall travel [	
49	he shall give ... [	
50	...	
51	[...]	
side b, rh column		
52	and they were divided	] they were divided
53	they shall open	they shall open
54	they roll back	raising
55	the veils	] ...
56	they shall construct	] constructing
57	and they spread them out	doubling <sup>367</sup> [...]
58	and he adorns them	and he adorned them
59	and he scoops them	lifting them up
60	he shall send them out	sending forth
61	they who came, they were freed	] ... they came in, they
		...
62	they shall fasten	fastening
63	and they pour out	being poured out
64	and they are made ready, namely	and they shall be made ready
65	they shall form	they shall form
66	they shall come in	they shall come in
67	] their ... appearing to you	
68	] ... his ship shall increase in light	
69	the day when it shall appear	
70	to you it shall increase,	
71	namely his ship, in light;	
72	to cause them to be saved	...

<sup>366</sup> The Syriac could be either ܢܝܒܘܪ or ܕܝܒܘܪ ('they / it (fem.) bound'). The angle of the first part of the final letter which is visible suggests a ܢ more than a ܕ which would make 'they bound' more likely.

<sup>367</sup> The root also has the meaning 'to increase' or 'to multiply'.

73	<b>] ... them, which shines in them</b>	
74	they ...	
75	shines in them	
76	it shall fill in its	<b>] it (fem.) shall fill</b>
77	<b>] ... which it (fem.) filled and was fully formed</b>	
78	and while it shall fill and complete the [ships	
79	and they scoop these	<b>] and they were heavy</b>
80	which they completed	<b>] they were completely filled</b>
81	and they become the fullnesses	<b>] they became</b>
82	Yet, what is set in order for them	
83	<b>] ... being made ready</b>	
84	he shall give grace to them	
85	<b>] ... giving</b>	
86	<b>] ... and manifesting to them</b>	
87	the one that he shall unveil for them, and he	
88	reveals it to them	
89	from the inundation (high-tide?) of the [ ... ] ...	
90	<b>] his abundance manifesting his brightness<sup>368</sup></b>	
91	that time ... [	
92	so that they shall look and see ... [	
93	and they were cast down [	<b>] ... and they were exalted<sup>369</sup></b>
94	<b>] ... petition</b>	
95	in a petition (?) ...	<b>[...]</b>
96	he shall send it forth and ... [	
97	<b>saving</b>	
98	<b>] his ... , his faith</b>	
99	the one that he shall set free (?)	
100	<b>] being lifted up<sup>370</sup> to them</b>	
101	<b>] being swathed and clothed</b>	
102	<b>their ... in her the spirit</b>	
103	<b>] ...</b>	<b>] their ...</b>
104	<b>] and they flow (?) [</b>	
105	<b>] ... to them, and they [</b>	

<sup>368</sup> Also 'his rising' (used for the rising of the sun, moon and stars).

<sup>369</sup> Also 'ascended', 'were taken away'.

<sup>370</sup> Also 'exalted'.



106 [...]

side b, lh column

107 **of pleasing appearance (pl.) ... [**

108 with some sweet vegetables

109 and they flourish

**breathing<sup>371</sup>**

110 (vac) it shall give strength

**strengthening**

111 it shall make strong

**strengthening<sup>372</sup>**

112 ] ... increase

**increasing**
113 **their death**

114 and they drank it

**and they drank it**

115 (vac) and they pierced (?)

**and they pierced<sup>373</sup>**

116 ] their measure

**their measuring**

117 in an appearance

**in appearance**

118 and they look (for)

**they awaited it**
119 **and the house of<sup>374</sup> the interpreter<sup>375</sup> not ... [**

120 ] the genuine treasure (?)

121 ] of what size

122 **which from the hands of greatness**

123 ] up from among them

**they were sent**

124 they were purified from them

**they were purified**
125 ] ...<sup>376</sup>
**they have decayed<sup>377</sup>**

126 ] to their kindred

127 **so that the sons of their kindred**

128 ... which is] upon their place

129 **upon their purity<sup>378</sup>**

130 ] rested (?) them

**and they refreshed**
**themselves<sup>379</sup>**


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<sup>371</sup> 'They are breathing', in the sense of 'they are alive'.

<sup>372</sup> Line 110 has **דברו** and line 111 has **ערו**. The first verb has the sense of physical strength or force,

the second is used in the sense of setting something firmly or confirming something.

<sup>373</sup> Also 'changed', 'renewed'.

<sup>374</sup> **בין** could also be translated as 'between'.

<sup>375</sup> Also 'explaining', 'discerning'.

<sup>376</sup> Perhaps see Crum 536b, 'be worn'.

<sup>377</sup> Also 'pined', 'rotted', 'melted'.

<sup>378</sup> Also 'holiness'.

<sup>379</sup> Also 'they were at rest'.

131	their heart desires	<b>and it earnestly desired</b>
132	] ...	<b>and defiled</b>
133	we [rejoiced	<b>we exulted</b>
134	then he shall [...] to them	<b>at that time he said to them</b>
135	] will receive useful garment	<b>good garments</b>
136	(vac) they who went down	<b>(they) who went down</b>
137	the race/s who are perfect in the presence of their Father <sup>380</sup>	
138	<b>the presence of their Father</b>	
139	they who are many, namely [their] brotherhood <sup>381</sup>	
140	<b>of their great brotherhood<sup>382</sup></b>	
141	] the new birth	<b>joyful birth</b>
142	] the signs of the light	<b>signs of light</b>
143	] the inundations of the light	<b>voyages of light<sup>383</sup></b>
144	] and you come in	<b>enter</b>
145	] and you rest yourselves	<b>and refresh yourselves</b>
146	] rest yourselves [...] rest you	
147	<b>and be planted and ... [</b>	
148	(vac) rest ... you	<b>and refresh yourselves</b>
149	(vac) [ ] rest yourselves	<b>and be at rest</b>
150	] they stopped [...]	<b>his spirit was hemmed in<sup>384</sup></b>
151	(vac) [ ] ...	
152	] you did not count to [...]	<b>and it was shut</b>
153	<b>his evil one/s ... [</b>	
154	] Enter! [Indeed], come in	<b>Enter!</b>
155	without [ever] turning back	<b>without turning back</b>
156	[...] plant	<b>(you) who planted</b>

<sup>380</sup> The Coptic appears to give more than can be read or even inferred from the Syriac.

<sup>381</sup> In the personal letters from Kellis the Coptic term is used of the community, or more probably for the elect specifically: e.g. P. 70, margin 1 where Matthaios comments that someone has died 'without the brotherhood gathered around her'; and see also (the unpublished) kephalaion 137 (*Keph.* 338,19 - 340,19) entitled 'Concerning the five types of brotherhood (ⲧⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲁⲛ) that are distinguished from each other', where Mani comments: '[Five] types occur in this church that I have chosen ... (338,23 - 24 from an unpublished typescript kindly provided by W.-P. Funk)'.  
<sup>382</sup> 'Great' in the sense of 'many'.  
<sup>383</sup> Also 'courses of light'. For 'inundations', as in the Coptic, the Syriac would need to read ⲕⲓⲅⲏⲗⲓ

<sup>384</sup> Also 'closed in'.

157 ] you (pl) and rejoice greatly!  
 158 **and when it was fragrant, it shone**  
 159 **... and sprouting them**  
 160 **and they were contained**<sup>385</sup>  
 161 ] ... [

**Format:** The Syriac terms and phrases are presumed to have been taken from one or more actual written sources. Sometimes continuous text extends over two or more lines, see especially lines 69-72 (Coptic) which are indeed bracketed together by the scribe. Due to the poor and fragmentary preservation it is not always clear which Syriac and Coptic passages belong together. Therefore, the lines assigned to the text attempt to represent the layout of the board, and not the pairing of content. It is apparent, for instance, that lines 32 and 33 are a pair.

The material found on this board is in many ways unique, and this together with the state of preservation has left a number of problems unsolved, in particular with the Syriac text<sup>386</sup>. The editors are acutely aware that what they offer here can only be provisional.

**Comment:** The terms and phrases chosen for glossing are often sufficiently specialised or technical for the reader to gain a certain impression of the content of the background text, in terms of Manichaean doctrine and genres of literature. Although the order in which the two sides should be read is unclear, and also it is unknown whether a single text is being followed or whether a series of them<sup>387</sup>; nevertheless the content of the board reveals some distinct themes or sections:

(1-33) Details of the lunar cycle in terms of Manichaean doctrine: the divine light and life purified from the world ascends to 'fill up' the lesser ship of the moon (which indeed is apparent to all as it waxes); from whence (as it wanes) it is then given to the greater ship of the sun, which receives it (see Coptic 28-30)<sup>388</sup>. This mystery of plenitude<sup>389</sup> was

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<sup>385</sup> Also 'imprisoned'.

<sup>386</sup> Please note that M. Franzmann had access only to photographs, and not to the originals.

<sup>387</sup> We incline to suppose a series of short texts (e.g. kephalaia) or extracts. For instance the phrase found at (Coptic) lines 54-55 ('they roll back the veils') belongs to the final eschatological hope, i.e. the revelation of the hidden Father. This would seem almost certainly to belong to the conclusion of a piece.

<sup>388</sup> See MM 1: 15 [187] (= Klimkeit 1993: 230): "Und ... wenn der fünfzehnte in den Monaten ist, bei Vollmond, (dann) nimmt Gott *Ōhrmizd* jenes Licht und jene Zunahme des Mondgottes - (die) in dem Gotte, welcher seine (*Ōhrmizd*'s) Abstammung ist, (besteht) - weg und ordnet sie. Und ab Vollmond, den sechzehnten in den Monaten, bis Neumond, den [neun-]undzwanzigsten [in den Monaten] ..."; Epiphanius,

crucial to Manichaean faith; and the background text evidenced by this board seems to have been concerned with detailing the relevant days of the cycle. Possibly such were connected to liturgy<sup>390</sup>.

As well as these numerical details, the glosses also record various other subsets of phrases within this section, e.g. see the Coptic of (5-8). The relevance of the content is not always apparent; but the linguistic connectors (such as sets of relative clauses) provide a clue as to the purpose of the board as an exercise in translation. Note also how lines 28 and 29 are paired.

(34-36) Thus, this linked set of three phrases in the Coptic are perhaps a subsidiary discussion to the 'knowledge' of line 33.

(37-51) The content of this increasingly poorly preserved section is difficult to determine; but perhaps continues the same eschatological text with details of the homeward journey from the heavenly bodies on to the land of light.

(52-66) Series of 3rd. person plural phrases to do with the construction of the cosmos, with a subset in the 3rd. singular (58-60) that in terminology seem to be descriptive of the work of the Living Spirit as demiurge. In this section are found a number of specialised terms familiar (in Coptic) from cosmological sections of the *Kephalaia* (such as chs. 43-45); in particular Ⲭⲁⲗⲓⲛⲉ ('scoop')<sup>391</sup>.

It seems improbable that this series strictly follows the presumed background text, since the phrases appear to be linked by their morphology and content for the purpose of an exercise, rather than any linked narrative. Thus the phrase at 54-55 (Coptic) strictly belongs to the final moment of revelation after the destruction of the universe; whilst the terms that follow seem related to a much earlier stage of creation.

*Pan.* V.66,9,8: "... Mani says that the sun and moon are ships. And the smaller ship loads for fifteen days, till the full moon ... and on the fifteenth day stows them in the larger ship, the sun (tr. Williams 1994:230)"; Ephrem, *Hypatius* 15,27-34: "If, moreover, as they say, 'the moon receives the light which is refined, and during fifteen days draws it up and goes on emptying it out for another fifteen days' (tr. Mitchell 1912 / 21:1,xxxvi)"; *ibid.* 26,3-6,29-31 178,45ff

<sup>389</sup> ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲛⲉ line 4 (compare the 'increment' in the MM 1 text cited *supra*); and see e.g. *Keph.* 87,29 162,23-24

<sup>390</sup> Cf. Bema psalm 240, especially *PsBk* 2. 41,25

<sup>391</sup> Line 59, see *Keph.* 111,31



(67-93) The narrative now continues with (or returns to) the theme of the appearance of the heavenly ships, which recalls side a in subject matter.

(94-106) Too fragmentary for comment.

(107-112) The apparent reference to vegetables in the pair of lines 107-108, (a topic important in Manichaean soteriology and praxis but otherwise without evident connection to the rest of the board's content), is followed by four subclauses; presumably as an exercise.

(113-133) A series of phrases with no clear links.

(134-143) The narrative continues with a quotation (? 134-135), and then various descriptors of the community as the perfect race.

(144-149) The reference to 'resting' in the initial clause (144-145 Syriac) is followed by a series of parallel renditions of this theme.

(150-161) Again there are few clear links, although the core text of lines 154-157 (Syriac) seems liturgical.

In conclusion it would seem clear that the Syriac scribe had recourse to a written text/s that he quotes from, sometimes providing a series of continuous clauses. However, these quotations are interspersed with subsets of phrases usually linked in terms of morphology or content. Whether these subsets come from the written text, or are in a general way invented for the occasion, is uncertain. The reality is probably something of a mixture. Manichaean technical terms, often paralleled in the Medinet Madi codices, are prominent.

Thus, the general purpose can be considered to be translation practice or reference, most probably as an exercise. It is also notable that the Coptic sometimes provides more text than the Syriac, e.g. at line 137. It seems that the Coptic scribe also had access to the original; though whether this means that he is indeed the same person as the Syriac scribe, or whether the two were sitting together, is impossible to know.

P. Kell. Syr. 1

Inv # P 11 (text i); P 10 (ii); P 92.15a (iii)

Site: House 3, room 8, level 1 (text i); room 13, S wall (ii); room 1, level 1 (iii).

**Description:** Glasped together here are three separate small fragments of papyrus inscribed in Syriac. All are double-sided and presumably literary in content. In view of the find sites it appears unlikely that any of them belong together.

**Text i:**

(^):

1 ]... ܐܘܡܢܐ and the omen<sup>392</sup> [

(>):

2 ܕܝܘܢܐ ܘܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] you (s.f.) and if a daughter

3 ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] ... first (pl.)<sup>393</sup>

4 (traces)

**Text ii:**

(^):

1 ܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] spirit

2 ܕܝܘܢܐ ܘܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] your (m.s.) ... and you will be<sup>394</sup>

3 ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] which they (are) keeping<sup>395</sup>

4 ܕܝܘܢܐ [ ] *bynwt*<sup>396</sup>

5 ]ܕܝܘܢܐ [ your (m.s.) word [

6 (trace)

(>):

7 ] ... ܕܝܘܢܐ ... [

8 ] ܕܝܘܢܐ ...<sup>397</sup> [

<sup>392</sup> Also 'diviner'.

<sup>393</sup> Also 'ancient'.

<sup>394</sup> The verb could be either masculine or feminine singular but the context seems to require the masculine.

<sup>395</sup> Also 'watch', 'guard'. The verb is participial ('keeping'), so that the tense is unclear.

<sup>396</sup> The word is quite clearly written, but is a form unknown to me (MF).

<sup>397</sup> This word is probably some form or derivative of the verb ܕܝܘܢܐ and could mean 'going before'.

9	] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ	bodily <sup>398</sup> [
10	] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ	resembling <sup>399</sup> [
11	] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ <sup>400</sup>	upon <sup>401</sup> her [
12	(traces)	

**Text iii:**

(^):

1	(traces)	
2	] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܘܬܐ . [	] ... <sup>402</sup> that at that moment [
3	] ܩ [	...

(&gt;):

4	(traces)	
5	] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܘܬܐ . [	] ... <sup>403</sup> [
6	(traces)	

**Content:** Unidentified.

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<sup>398</sup> Also 'carnal', 'according to the flesh'.

<sup>399</sup> The ܩ is clear. Otherwise some form of the verb ܩܘܨܘܬܐ ('to die') might be suggested which would also fit with the line above.

<sup>400</sup> The third letter is very smudged and faint.

<sup>401</sup> Also 'above', 'near', 'opposite'.

<sup>402</sup> If the first word of the Syriac has no letter preceding the ܩ one could read 'or, that at that moment'. There may be a slight trace of a dot above the ܩ

<sup>403</sup> The text is difficult to read. Although the Syriac has no space between ܩ and the (possible) ܩ at the end of the line, perhaps the letters could be separated to read: ] ܩܘܨܘܬܐ ('a great honour').

**P. Kell. Syr. / Gr. 1**

**Inv #** A/5/26

**Site:** House 3, room 7, level 1

**Description:** Portions of a single codex leaf, Greek and Syriac written on parchment<sup>404</sup>. Very poor preservation. The original codex must have been a substantial and fine production.

**Content:** Religious. It may be speculated (on the basis of the general context and format as well as the fine script) that this is the remains of a Manichaean scripture; but this can at most be a hypothesis.

**Purpose:** Scriptural (?)

**Authorship:** Mani (?)

**Text**<sup>405</sup>:

side a, column 1:

2 ]ג[

a, column 2:

- 1 רב רבטא<sup>406</sup> ... תגבד
- 2 ]גמבדקת רבטא רב[
- 3 ]ג[<sup>407</sup> רב . . . . . ]ג[ . . . ]ג[
- 4 ]ג[ . . . . . ]ג[ . . . ]ג[
- 5 ]ג[ . . . . . ]ג[ . . . ]ג[
- 6 ]ג[<sup>408</sup> רבטא רב . . . . . ]ג[
- 7 ]ג[ . . . ]ג[

<sup>404</sup> Greek text by IG and KAW; Syriac by MF. For another bilingual scrap see Burkitt 1926: 117

<sup>405</sup> The columns are ordered left to right for the sake of convenience.

<sup>406</sup> Perhaps: רבטא ('these'). There may be a final point after רבטא so that the line would read: '...'

which (are) in the spirit. These stood firm ...'

<sup>407</sup> Perhaps: רבטא ('his greatness').

<sup>408</sup> Perhaps: רבטא ('enclosure', 'prison', 'cloister').



a, column 3:

1 ζωήν [καὶ στ]έψαν . [

a, column 4:

1 ] . . . [

side b (superlinear)                      ψη<sup>409</sup>

[b, column 1]

b, column 2:

1                      trace?

b, column 3:

1                      ܠܕܘܢܐ [ . . . ] ܝܘܢܐܘܪܐ<sup>410</sup> ܠܘܪܐܘܢܐ

2                      ܡܡ . [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ܕܐ

3                      ܐ . [ . . . . . ] ܕܐܘܪܐ<sup>411</sup> ܡܡ

4                      ] ܐ<sup>412</sup> [                      ] . ܡܡ

5                      ] . [

b, column 4

1                      trace

### Translation<sup>413</sup>:

side a, column 1:

2                      ] ... [

a, column 2:

1                      **which in the spirit ... they stood firm**<sup>414</sup>

<sup>409</sup> This appears to be the page number 408. While such certainly appears to be very high, it is not impossible compared with other Manichaean codices.

<sup>410</sup> Perhaps: ܠܘܪܐܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐܘܪܐ ('were closed in / imprisoned by deceits').

<sup>411</sup> Perhaps: ܡܡ ('they spoke foolishly').

<sup>412</sup> Or θ

<sup>413</sup> Translation from the Syriac text in bold.

<sup>414</sup> Or 'they rose', 'they stood up' and so on.

- 2 ] his mercy<sup>415</sup> and pity from  
 3 ] ... their ...  
 4 ] ...  
 5 ] not [ ... ] to them  
 6 ] ... he scattered  
 7 ] ... they named him

a, column 3:

- 1 life [and] crowning (?) [

a, column 4:

- 1 ] ... [

side b, page number (?) 408

[b, column 1]

b, column 2:

- 1 trace?

b, column 3:

- 1 and how many ...  
 2 ... [ ... ] ...  
 3 in him ...  
 4 [ ... ] 42<sup>416</sup>  
 5 [ ... ]

b, column 4

- 1 trace

**Format:** There may be four columns of text on each side. However, it is not clear what is the relationship between the Greek and the Syriac texts, nor whether the columns are paired and record a translation from one language to the other. The general format with page number and perhaps title does not suggest a glossary.

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<sup>415</sup> Perhaps we could conjecture a כ before מַלְכֵי אֱלֹהִים so that the line would read: 'These stood firm in his mercy ...'

<sup>416</sup> Possibly a chapter heading and number.

SECTION C: GREEK TEXTS  
(Iain Gardner and Klaas Worp)

**P. Kell. Gr. 91<sup>417</sup>**

**Inv #** A/3/19

**Site:** Structure 3, room 1, level 4

**Description:** Complete papyrus bifolium inscribed in Greek, now in three fragments. 42 x 57mm (each page 28.5mm). Margins: (>) lh, 6,3,2,8; rh, 6,5,4,5; (^) lh, 7,6,3,6; rh, 7,4,4,6mm.

**Content:** Manichaean prayer of praise<sup>418</sup>. Complete and self-contained text, i.e. not from a quire or codex<sup>419</sup>.

**Purpose:** Amulet (?)

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

(>)1	Δοξάζω
2	σε, τὸν πρῶ-
3	τότοκον
4	λόγον, τὸν
5	π(ατέ)ρα <sup>420</sup> τοῦ νο-

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<sup>417</sup> P. Kell. Gr. 1 - 90 are published in Worp 1995

<sup>418</sup> In private discussion (with KAW) L. Koenen suggested that a metrical pattern might be discerned in P. Kell. Gr. 91 (and 92). As we do not feel sufficiently competent in these matters, we leave it to others to follow up this idea. See Koenen 1968, especially pp. 32 - 33: 'Zur Rhythmisierung'.

<sup>419</sup> Theoretically the bifolium could be supposed to be the outer leaves of a larger work, with an unknown amount of text lost between lines 18 and 19. Such a thesis would be supported by what the editors have taken to be corrupt text at the start of line 19. However, there is nothing otherwise in the format or physical structure of the piece to suggest further leaves; and the text works so well as a self-contained amulet (of which there are a number of examples from the Kellis excavations) that it would seem better to reject such an hypothesis. Contrast the view of Jenkins 1995

<sup>420</sup> Pap.  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$

- 6 εροῦ ἀν(θρώπ)ου<sup>421</sup>,  
 7 τὴν μητέ-  
 8 ρα τῆς ζω-  
 9 ῆς, τὴν πρῶ-
- (^)<sup>10</sup> τὴν ἀποστο-  
 11 λήν, τὸ φέγ-  
 12 γος τῶν φω-  
 13 στήρων, τὸ  
 14 ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α<sup>422</sup>  
 15 ἡμῶν, τὸ  
 16 ἄλας τῆς ἐκ-  
 17 κλησίας, τὸν  
 18 κυβερνήτην<sup>423</sup>
- (^)<sup>19</sup> <τῆς ἀγα>θωσύνης<sup>424</sup>  
 20 καταξίωσον  
 21 ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῶ(ν)<sup>425</sup>  
 22 πιστῶν σου,  
 23 τῶν ἔν σοι δι-  
 24 καιουμένω(ν),<sup>426</sup>  
 25 τῶν ἔν σοι ἀνα-  
 26 καινιζομένω(ν),<sup>427</sup>  
 27 τῶν ἔν σοι τε-
- (>)<sup>28</sup> λειουμένων,  
 29 τῶν ἔν σοι ἀγαλ-  
 30 λομένων,<sup>428</sup> τῶ(ν)<sup>429</sup>

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421 Pap.  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon}$

422 Pap.  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$

423 First η corr. from τ

424 Pap. θωσυνην

425 Pap. τω -

426 Pap. καιουμενω -

427 Pap. καινιζομενω -

428 The reading is difficult. Our thanks to C.J. Ruijgh (Amsterdam) for this suggestion which we have adopted.

429 Pap. τω -



31 ἔν σοι ἀγιαζομέ-  
 32 νων, τῶν ἔν  
 33 σοι νηφόντων,  
 34 τῶν πρὸς σέ  
 35 σπευδόντων·  
 36 ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἡ(μ)ήν.<sup>430</sup>

**Translation:**

I glorify you:

the firstborn word;  
 the 5 father of the intellectual man;  
 the mother of life;  
 the first 10 apostleship;  
 the splendour of the enlighteners;  
 our holy spirit;  
 15 the salt of the church;  
 the pilot of goodness!

20 Make us worthy to be of your faithful:

those who are justified in you;  
 25 those who are renewed in you;  
 those who are perfected in you;  
 those who are rejoicing in you;  
 30 those who are sanctified in you;  
 those who are sober in you;  
 those who 35 hasten to you!

Deliver us. Amen.

**Format:** Whilst the miniature format is somewhat reminiscent of the *Mani-Codex*, and must occasion interest as (arguably) a peculiarly Manichaean feature; nevertheless, this format is best understood in the context of the piece's purpose as an amulet. Similarly the following text P. Kell. Gr. 92 (see *infra*).

**Comment:** The text contains a number of terms and epithets familiar from Greek Manichaean (or anti-Manichaean) literature, and / or easily translated into parallels in the Coptic or other relevant languages. Certainly, some of this terminology is shared broadly

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<sup>430</sup> Pap. η- Contrast the reading and comments by Jenkins 1995: 223

with Christian devotion and other contemporary movements; and in particular a phrase such as ‘the salt of the church’ would not normally lead the reader to Manichaean authorship (although there is nothing here to prevent it). Nevertheless, there is enough that is distinctive to make the Manichaean derivation at the very least highly probable even without recourse to the context at Kellis.

τὸν πρωτότοκον λόγον

*Firstborn word:* In the Coptic Manichaean literature ‘firstborn (ϠΔΛΙϢΕ)’ is an epithet for the son of God; i.e. either the First Man (P. Kell. Copt. 1.17 *Keph.* 40,13) or Jesus (e.g. *PsBk* 2. 91,20). As regards λόγος, the term is variously used (Coptic ϢΕΞΕ see perhaps *Keph.* 92,8); particularly in the secondary heresiological material. Nevertheless, and not surprisingly given the religion’s origins, Manichaeism does not share in the general discourse of logos theology. To this extent, this occurrence here is a reminder of how limited are our sources as regards Greek Manichaean literature. Still, the epithet must be understood with reference to the son of God<sup>431</sup>.

τὸν πατέρα τοῦ νοεροῦ ἀνθρώπου

*Father of intellectual man:* Fundamental in the Manichaean process of enlightenment is the transformation of the ‘old’ into the ‘new man’, which is achieved by means of uprooting and replacing the five ‘intellectuals’ of darkness with the corresponding qualities of light (Coptic ΠϜϞϞ ΝΗΟΕΡΟΝ)<sup>432</sup>. This is the divine work of the Light Mind (ΠΗΟϞϢ ΝΟϞΔΙΗΕ) who as ‘father of all the apostles (*Keph.* 35,22)’ is incarnated in the church and the awakened individual. This god is the obvious candidate, in terms of Manichaean doctrine, for such a phrase as is found here; although Jesus Splendour is also possible in that the Nous is his emanation, and thus Jesus too is ‘father of all the apostles (*Keph.* 20,4 80,19)’.

τὴν μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς

*Mother of life:* This is the name of one of the best known of all Manichaean divinities; indeed she is the first emanated of the gods, and in her archetypal form as the Great Spirit (see especially *Keph.* 71,25) functions even almost as a partner to the Father himself as the fount of all life. In the context of Kellis it is difficult to imagine that the scribe of this piece would have been unaware of this specific usage. However, within the structure of this text the term appears to be used as an epithet, and is paired with the ‘father’ of the preceding clause. Still, although it is possible to find feminine epithets for Jesus (and in

<sup>431</sup> See also the Jesus hymn M 842 r7-9: ‘My strong word (sxwnwm [‘](b)z’r) from which I let taste eternal life (Sundermann)’.

<sup>432</sup> E.g. *Keph.* ch.38, also Sundermann 1992

Manichaean systematics he is closely paired with the Virgin of Light as nous and sophia), this terminology here makes it difficult to take this entire series as designating a single figure, most obviously Jesus.

τὴν πρώτην ἀποστολήν

*First apostleship:* Preeminent in the line of true apostles are Jesus; and the one whom he has sent, Mani himself. However, this epithet here is abstract and rather general; and it is difficult to identify a specific recipient.

τὸ φέγγος τῶν φωστήρων

*Splendour of enlighteners:* The term ‘splendour (Greek φέγγος Coptic **πριε** Syriac **zîwā**)’ has a technical usage in Manichaeism with reference both to the god (rather than apostle) Jesus Splendour (e.g. *Keph.* 20,4); and to the living soul or five sons of the First Man (**πϣοϥ ηρμ λπριε** or **πϣοϥ κηοϣτε ετπριωϣ** *Keph.* 95,16 85,34-35 etc.). φωστήρ is an epithet commonly used for Mani himself (*Keph.* passim); or, and perhaps more applicable here, in the plural for the divinised sun and moon (e.g. *Keph.* 199,23).

τὸ ἅγιον πν(εῦμ)α ἡμῶν

*Our holy spirit:* The Manichaean usage of this term is easily confused when read in the light of Christian traditions. The reference here would seem most obviously to be to Mani himself; but not to Mani as the Holy Spirit of the trinity (sic), rather as the human voice of truth chosen and united with his divine Twin, the Paraclete Spirit (perhaps *PsBk* 2. 42,9 *Keph.* 15,19-24 16,19-21). The term is also a designation of the Light Mind (*Keph.* 143,29-32 189,30-190,6).

τὸν κυβερνήτην <τῆς ἀγα>θωσύνης

*Pilot:* The imagery of the pilot and safe guardianship through the troubled seas of life is very general, and effectively used in the *Psalm-Book* (**ρϵϣρ̄ϩ̄λ̄μ̄ϵ** e.g. *PsBk* 2. 83.29-30).

Whilst the Manichaean authorship of this piece is relatively certain, it is less clear as to which divine messenger or god is being addressed. The ‘firstborn’ would most immediately suggest either the First Man or Jesus Splendour (n.b.); the ‘father of the intellectual ...’ recalls the Light Nous; the ‘Holy Spirit’ could perhaps indicate Mani himself; and yet the Mother of Life is the only Manichaean god who could be said to be directly named here. Indeed, it is probably wrongly phrased to seek a single solution to this question. The amulet is a piece of popular Manichaean devotion, perhaps of most interest for its warm and fluid spirituality rather than for strict doctrinal coherence.

## P. Kell. Gr. 92

**Inv #** P 56J

**Site:** House 3, room 9, level 3 W drwy

**Description:** Papyrus bifolium inscribed in Greek, now in three fragments. 46 (rh) x 74mm (each page 37mm). Margins: all average 6mm. Side (^), i.e. 'pages' 2 and 3, is poorly preserved.

**Content:** Manichaean hymn of praise. Complete and self-contained text, i.e. not from a quire or codex.

**Purpose:** Amulet (?)

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

(>) .433  
 1 vac ύμνω<sup>434</sup> σ[ε, π]ολυύμνη-  
 2 τει π(άτ)ερ,<sup>435</sup> ή άθόλωτος κα-  
 3 τάστασις καί στερρότης ή  
 4 άπτωτος· ύμνω σε, πο-  
 5 λυύμνητε π(άτ)ερ<sup>436</sup>, ό πάν-  
 6 των φωτων πυθμη(ν)<sup>437</sup>  
 7 καί πάντων έναρέ-  
 8 των πλούτων τὸ [μέ-]  
 9 τρον· ύμνω<sup>438</sup> σε, π[ολυ-]  
 10<sup>439</sup> ύμνητε π(άτ)ερ,<sup>440</sup> τὸ . [ . . ]  
 11 ης σύστημα, ή πολ[υύ-]

<sup>433</sup> Ink trace at the top of the page.

<sup>434</sup> Pap. ύμνω

<sup>435</sup> Pap. πέρ

<sup>436</sup> Pap. πέρ

<sup>437</sup> Pap. πυθμη -

<sup>438</sup> Pap. ύμνω

<sup>439</sup> Divider between lines 9 and 10

<sup>440</sup> Pap. πέρ



- 12 μνητος ἰδέα καὶ [ἀπα]
- 13 ράβλητος δύναμις κ[αὶ]
- 14 βλύσις καὶ παντα . [ . . . ]
- 15 τα σώματα καὶ μ[ . . . ]
- (^)16 . αχ . αρ[ . . . ] . . . α κ<sup>441</sup>
- 17 φ . ιτη παντος κ . α
- 18 πλούτοι πᾶν πν(εὐμ)α<sup>442</sup>
- 19 ἤρεμοι ἐκ σοῦ ἀνε-
- 20 βαντε . καὶ φρονη-
- 21 [ . . . ]η . η αυτ . . . . .
- 22 [ . . . ]ορηγας καὶ ἔσπερ-
- 23 [ . . . ] ἐνθυμ . . εστης η
- 24 [συ]μφωνω περιει
- 25 [ . . . ] . . . . ἐναρέτω
- 26 [ . . . ] . οσ . . . υλογω
- 27 [συ]νέστησας καλου
- (^)28 κατα[ . . . . . ] . . . . .
- 29 ἀγαπ[ . . . . . ] . . . . .
- 30 ασε[ . . . . . ]σ . . . . .
- 31 ε[ . . . ]κα[ . . . . . ]ων . . ε[ . . . ]
- 32 . οσ[ . . . . . ]ε . . [ . . . ] .
- 33 φω . [ . . . ]ημ . . [ . . . ]
- 34 ιας ζω[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . ατ .
- 35 καὶ δι[ . . . . . ] . . ε . π(ατ)ρι<sup>443</sup>
- 36 χ . ρη[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ]
- 37 τολαι ξ . [ . . . ] . . . . .
- 38 πους ρ . . . . .
- 39 τὴν εὐφημίαν, τὸ
- 40 σθένος<sup>444</sup> τῆς ἀγαπ . [ . . . ]
- 41 [ . . . ] . . . ἀνότητος [ . . . ] .
- 42 ὑμ]νῶ σ'ε', εὐφ .

441 Pap. κ\ perhaps for καί

442 Pap.  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$

443 Pap.  $\overline{\pi\rho\iota}$

444 The term is used four times in the *CMC*, Henrichs and Koenen (1970: 200 n269) take it to be distinctively Manichaean.

- (>)43 [ . . . ]μ . . ε,<sup>445</sup> τιμῶ καί σοι προσ-  
 44 εύχομαί, σοι θαμὰ ἐξα-  
 45 γορεύω, π(άτ)ερ<sup>446</sup> ἀπόκρυφε,  
 46 ἡ τῶν φωτῶν σύστασις·  
 47<sup>447</sup> ὕμνῶ σε, πολυύμνη-  
 48 τε π(άτ)ερ<sup>448</sup> αὐτοσύστατε, ἡ  
 49 τῆς ἰσχύος<ς> περιουσία, ὁ  
 50 τῶν μεγάλων φωτῶ(ν)<sup>449</sup>  
 51 ἐνδοξότατος, ὁ ἐναπο-  
 52 κρυπτόμενος τῆ εὐ-  
 53 θαλεῖ<sup>450</sup> δόξῃ καὶ ἀμηχά-  
 54 νῳ κάλλει ἐσταμε-  
 55 νος,<sup>451</sup> τὸ ὕψιστον καὶ ἄ-  
 56 γιον π[α]ραβεισ . .

**Translation:**

I praise you, greatly praised Father:

the pure foundation and stability without fault!

I praise you, 5 greatly praised Father:

the basis of all the lights and the measure of all virtuous riches!

I praise you, greatly 10 praised Father:

the fundament of ..., the greatly praised concept and incomparable power and well-spring (?), and all ... 15 bodies and ...

(lines 16 - 41 not translated<sup>452</sup>)

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445 Perhaps read: εὐφη[μου]μενε

446 Pap.  $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho}$

447 Divider between lines 46 and 47

448 Pap.  $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho}$

449 Pap. φωτω -

450 ε corr. from υ

451 ε corr. from μ

452 It should be stressed that the text / translation we present here is very much a first edition, and that various problems remain.

I praise you, you who are being revered (?), I honour and worship you, often I make known to you 45 O hidden Father:

the steadfastness (?) of the lights!

I praise you, greatly praised Father:

self-constituting, the abundance of strength, the 50 most glorious of the great lights, the one hidden in excelling glory and established in extraordinary beauty, 55 the exalted and holy ...!<sup>453</sup>

**Format:** The start of the text is indicated by indentation at line 1.

**Comment:** The hymn is addressed to the Father, i.e. the supreme Godhead<sup>454</sup>. The Manichaean authorship is most apparent in the repeated reference to the Father as hidden (lines 45 and 51-52), for during time and the history of mixture in the cosmos the Father remains distanced and untainted in his eternal kingdom; while the battle is taken to the enemy by the emanated gods. Thus he is ‘a hidden one’ (e.g. T. Kell. Copt. 1,11 *PsBk* 2. 1,7-9) until after the final victory when he will at last reveal ‘his image’ (e.g. T. Kell. Copt. 2,142-143).

The specific terms and epithets also have parallels in other Manichaean literature. For instance, in Coptic, this supreme God of Truth is again Father of (all) the lights (ΠΙΩΤ Ν̄ΝΟϚΔΕΙΝΕ e.g. T. Kell. Copt. 2,142 *Keph.* 40,11 43,27 ΠΙΩΤ Ν̄ΝΟϚΔΙΝΕ ΤΗΡΟϚ *PsBk* 2. 190,3); also variously termed such as ‘origin of all lights’ (ΤΝΟϚΝΕ ΝΝΟϚΔΙΝΕ ΤΗΡΟϚ *Keph.* 35,3) and ‘first established one’ (ΠΨΔΡΠ ΝΤΩΚ ΔΡΕΤΥ *Keph.* 63,28 70,14,28 etc). Similarly, ‘rich ones’ (cf line 8?) is found as a technical term and category for the gods and light beings (ΝΡΜΜΔΔΙ e.g. *Keph.* ch. 50).

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<sup>453</sup> We have been unable to read this final title or epithet (?) of the Father by which the text concludes. Evidently the word is neuter, possibly it could refer to the realm of light (with which the Father is consubstantial). Our reading of the traces is open to serious doubt, but reproduced here merely to aid scholars especially in view of the quality of the photograph.

<sup>454</sup> See the Parthian examples collected in Klimkeit 1993: 29 - 33

## P. Kell. Gr. 93

**Inv #** P 92.13

**Site:** House 3, room 1, level 1 S end

**Description:** Lower corner from papyrus codex leaf. 77 x 37mm. Margins: side a 13mm (rh), 11mm (lower); side b 13mm (lh), 14mm (lower). Good literary hand and format.

**Content:** Religious; terminology consistent with a gnostic (perhaps Sethian) text.

**Purpose:** Sethian invocation / scripture (?)

**Authorship:** Unknown.

**Text:**

side a (>)

x + 1	]φθεις κει-
2	]υφους εις
3	γ]εννήμασιν
4	] . ου καὶ τετη <sup>455</sup>
5	]ν αἰώνιον .
6	σ]αρκος <sup>456</sup> καὶ
7	] . . . ματα
8	] . . . και . η
9	]πω τῶ σω
10	] αὐτογένους <sup>457</sup>
11	] καὶ παλιν
12	]ς ἀρσενι-

side b (^)

x + 13	ἀν-]
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<sup>455</sup> As no nouns start thus, τετη- probably belongs to a verb. It looks like a perfect form (noting the reduplication) of either τήκω or τηρέω

<sup>456</sup> Genitive of σάρξ or from an adjective?

<sup>457</sup> αὐτογένης e.g. *Apocryphon of John* (passim) and other Nag Hammadi texts; also Irenaeus *adv. haer.* 1.29, Theodoret *Haer. Fab.* 13



14	θρώπων . [
15	δρων καὶ κ . [
16	η δαιμων [
17	ε . . . . . [
18	π . . . . . [
19	ε . . . . . [
20	smudged
21	smudged
22	smudged
23	smudged
24	smudged
25	ὀρκίζω κα[
26	τοιονακ . . [

**Comment:** The reference to the Autogenes suggests a Sethian gnostic context, and this is consistent with the other terms (in so far as they can be read) such as ‘aeons’. Also, the Autogenes is closely linked in Sethian literature to figures like the Triple-Male Child and the Male Virgin. We are inclined to suggest some variant of these at line 12 (i.e. from ἀρσενικός), especially as this same is used as a loan word in the relevant Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi (e.g. ΤΑΡΣΕΝΙΚΗ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the reading of ὀρκίζω at line 25 is not attested in this other literature, (nor the Coptic parallel<sup>458</sup>); and this may indicate that the Kellis piece is some kind of invocation rather than a ‘scripture’.

So little survives of the piece that it is difficult to establish any further precise details. However, this terminology is of interest and the text is reproduced in the hope that some firmer connection (to such as the *Gospel of the Egyptians* or *Zostrianos*) might be demonstrable. Despite a number of overlapping sequences we ourselves are not able to suggest a secure placing for this passage. Perhaps this is not surprising given the scant remains of the Kellis piece, the fragmentary nature of many Nag Hammadi texts (themselves including what is presumably only a selection of Sethian literature), and the general problems of linking so few securely read Greek words to a Coptic translation.

<sup>458</sup> †ΤΑΡΚΟ is found in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*, 63,16

P. Kell. Gr. 94<sup>459</sup>

Inv # A/5/92

EAO # 1865

Site: House 3, room 4, level 3

**Description:** Wooden board with complete text, inscribed on two sides. 82 x 50mm. Margins: 5mm (upper); 8mm (lh). Two holes drilled lh upper and lower, before this present piece was written.

**Content:** Eulogy, probably to be used as an amulet. Religious context undefined. Complete and self-contained text.

**Text:**

a1	ὁ ἐξαρχέτης
2	ἡμετέρας
3	εὐφημίας·
4	ῥα τῆς εὐφρο-
5	σύνης καὶ τε-
6	λεία εὐλογία·
7	δόξα περ τῶ σῶ
8	ὀνόματι καὶ τι-
9	μητῆ <sup>460</sup> μεγαλιό-
10	τητι <sup>461</sup> εἰς αἰῶνα
b11	αἰώνων. <sup>462</sup>
12	Ἄμήν.

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<sup>459</sup> In the sequencing of the Greek texts no use has been made of 'T' numbers, and thus P. Kell Gr. 94 (also 60, 61, 62, 82, 84, 88, 90) is in fact a wooden board. This anomaly, compared with the Coptic and Syriac texts, was noted too late to introduce uniformity without creating confusion. 'T' numbers will not be used in future volumes.

<sup>460</sup> Pap. τι{μ}-

<sup>461</sup> Pap. μεγαλιό-

<sup>462</sup> Cf. CMC 66,8-9

**Translation:**

The author of our reverence!  
 In the hour of rejoicing <sup>5</sup> and in perfect eulogy:  
 Glory to your name and honoured greatness, <sup>10</sup> for ever and ever.  
 Amen.

**Format:** The relationship of the first clause (1-3) to the second (4-6) is not entirely certain. They could be taken together as a long invocation (wherein an initial vocative might have been expected); but then the ‘hour’ is surely not the ἐξαρχέτης (‘author’ ‘fount’?), presumably God. Perhaps ὥρα could be taken in an absolute sense: ‘It is the moment ...’? Alternatively, one can interpret the second clause as dative, and this is the reading that we have followed. Still, either way the significance of the time is not clear, unless it be the generalised moment when the piece is looked at and recited.

**Comment:** The religious context is uncertain. If it were Manichaean one would stress the ‘greatness<sup>463</sup>’ and the ‘aeons’, but without specific cause this is not justified in the translation. Neither LSJ nor Lampe list the word ἐξαρχέτης

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<sup>463</sup> A principal title in the Coptic Manichaean texts is ‘the Father of Greatness (*Keph.* passim)’; also ‘the great Greatness (ⲧⲏⲁⲄ ⲙⲙⲏⲧⲏⲁⲄ *Keph.* 162,27)’.

## Coptic words

**Δ-** *to, towards* T.C. 1.3,4,11,13 etc.; **Ε-** T.C. 2.5,36 etc.

**ΔΡΔ**= P.C. 2.30,40,45,46-47,65,[68]; P.C. 6.15,28,33,44 etc.; **ΕΡΔ**= T.C. 2.1,80 etc.; **ΕΡΟ**= T.C. 2.94 etc.

in adverbs: **ΔΒΔΛ** / **ΕΒΔΛ** see **ΒΩΛ**, **ΔΠΙΤ̄Ν̄**- see **ΙΤ̄Ν̄**, **ΔΤΠΕ** see **ΠΕ**, **ΔΤΟ(Ο)Τ=** / **ΕΤΟΤ=** see **ΤΩΡΕ**, **ΔϞΟϞΝ** see **ϞΟϞΝ**, **ΔϞΡΗĠ** see **ϞΡΗĠ**

**ΔΙ** see **ΔĠΕϞΤΕ**

**ΔΒΔΛ** see under **ΒΩΛ**

**ΔΒΔΤ** *month* P.C. 8.1

**ΔΚΜΕ** see **ΩΚΜΕ**

**ΔΜΗĠΝΕ** see **ΕΙ** *come*

**ΔΜΔϞΤΕ** *master* T.C. 7.10

**ΔΝ** *also, furthermore* P.C. 2.[65]; P.C. 6.11,14

**ΔΝΔΙ** *be good* : qual. **ΔΝΙΤ** : **ΠΕΤΔΝΙΤ** *the one who is good* T.C. 2.84

**ΔΝΔΚ** *I* T.C. 6.8 vid.; P.C. 2.65,67

**Ν̄ΤΟ** *you* f. sing. T.C. 2.45

**Ν̄ΤΔΚ** *you* m. sing. T.C. 2.3; P.C. 2.26; P.C. 6.28; **Ν̄ΤΚ** P.C. 6.[47]

**Ν̄ΤΔϞ** *he* T.C. 1.1 vid.; **ΝΤΔϞ** P.C. 2.29 vid.

**ΔΝΙΤ** see **ΔΝΔΙ**

**ΔΝϞ** see **ΩΝϞ**

**ΔΝΗϞΕ** *ever* T.S/C. 2.[155]

**ϠΔ ΔΝΗϞΕ** *for ever* T.C. 7.39; **ϠΔ ΔΝΙϞΕ** P.C. 6.4

**ΔĠΠΕ** see **ΜΟϞϞ**

**ΔΠΙΤ̄Ν̄** see **ΙΤ̄Ν̄**

**ΔΡΔ**= see **Δ-**

**ΔΡΕΤ=** see **ΡΕΤ=**

**ΔΡΗϞ** see **ΕΡΗϞ**

**ΔΡΕϞ** see **ϞΔΡΗϞ**

**ΔϞΕ** *loss* P.C. 7.11,14

**†ΔϞΕ** T.C. 4.50,54

**ΔΤ-** privative see **ΜΟϞ**, **ϞΒ̄ΒΕ**, **ϞΩΤΜ**, **ΤΔΚΟ**, **ΩΔ̄Ν̄**, **ϞΗΤ**, **ϞΩΛ**, and **πλάνη**

<sup>464</sup> N.b. only the Kellis texts edited in this volume have been indexed; in particular, the various Medinet Madi parallel texts are not indexed.



ΔΤΟ *multitude* in ΟΥΔΑΤΟ Ν̄CΔΠ *many times* P.C. 7.9

ΔΤΟΤ= see ΤΩΡΕ

ΔΥΩ *and* P.C. 6.5,[29]

ΔΪΕΥΤΕ *increase* T.S/C. 2.112; ΔΙΕΥΤΕ T.S/C. 2.70-71 vid.

qual. *be great* ΔΙ T.C. 4.2; ΔΕΙ P.C. 1.17; ΔΙΕΥΗ P.C. 8.13 vid (?)

ΔΕΙΨ *cry* see ΤΑΨΟ

ΔΨΥΡΙ see ΕΙΡΕ

ΔΥΟΥ *treasure* T.S/C. 2.120

ΔΥΡΗΪ etc. see ΥΡΗΪ

ΔΞ̄ - *over* T.C. 1.7,9; P.C. 6.[7]; P.C. 8.6 vid.,7 vid.; T.S/C. 2.128; Δ ΞΜ-

T.C. 6.2

Δ ΞΩ = T.C. 2.23; T.S/C. 1.16

see ΥΡΗΪ; ΟΥΩΥ

ΔΞ̄ *without* T.C. 2.124; P.C. 6.13,14

ΒΔΕ *palm* T.C. 2.123

ΒΩΚ *go* P.C. 7.15; T.S/C. 2.136,154

ΒΔΚΜΕΤ`ΟΥΕ *poison-stinging* P.C. 2.37

ΒΩΛ ΕΒΔΛ vb. *release* T.C. 2.38

β̄ΒΔΛ *escape, be freed, loosen* T.C. 4.22; T.S/C. 2.6,61; ρβ̄ΔΛ P.C. 2.88

qual. β̄ΗΛ P.C. 9.[25]

Δβ̄ΔΛ T.C. 1.8-9; T.C. 2.152; T.C. 4.15,23,37 vid.; T.C. 6.[5,16],20,24 vid.;

P.C. 1.4,18,28; P.C. 2.26,68,[84],94; P.C. 3.7; P.C. 6.55,56; P.C. 7.17; T.S/C.

2.3,26,47,52,60,[87],89,95,96,99 vid.,123,124,137; Εβ̄ΔΛ T.C. 2.22,38,126,128,143;

P.C. 9.[6],23,25; Δβ̄ / T.S/C. 2.57,63 vid.

Δβ̄ΔΛ ρΝ *from* P.C. 1.18,28; P.C. 2.55; Δβ̄ΔΛ ρΝ P.C. 6.5,52,56;

Δβ̄ΔΛ ρΜ P.C. 6.33; Δβ̄ΔΛ ρΗΤ = P.C. 7.7; Δβ̄ΔΛ Ν̄ρΗΤ =

T.S/C. 2.123

ΠΙΕΒΔΛ ρ̄Μ̄ *this one from* T.C. 2.35

ΠΑΒΔΛ ρ̄ΙΤΜ lit. *the one from the hand of* P.C. 6.53

Β̄ᾹΛΕ *blind* : pl. β̄Λ̄ᾹΕΟΥΕ P.C. 6.34

β̄ΡΡΕ *young, new* P.C. 2.10; β̄ρ̄ΡΕ T.S/C. 2.141

β̄ΩΤΕ *abhor* P.C. 6.41

β̄ΩΨ *strip* T.C. 2.73

Ε- *to, towards* see Δ-

Ε- see ΕΙΡΕ

ΕΕΙ *household* (?) T.C. 2.141

- εβδαλ** see **βωλ**  
**εμηρε** *inundation* T.S/C. 2.89,143  
**εν** negative particle P.C. 6.16,39,51,[55],56; P.C. 8.16  
**επ-** see **ωπ**  
**ερα=, ερο=** see **α-**  
**ερηϥ** *one another* with possessive prefix P.C. 6.24; **αρηϥ** P.C. 8.16,19 vid.,20  
 vid.,28 vid.,29 vid.,31  
**εσαϥ** *sheep* P.C. 2.43 vid.?  
**εωτ** see **ϊωτ**  
**ετβε** *because of* P.C. 2.51,[59]; P.C. 3.9; P.C. 6.38; P.C. 7.8; **ατβε** P.C.  
 8.14,21  
**ετβε=** P.C. 6.45  
**ετοτ=** see **τωρε**  
**εαϥ** *glory, honour* T.C. 2.26,51,52,90,98,161; T.C. 7.38,43; P.C. 1.[12-13],16;  
 P.C. 2.28,70 vid.; P.C. 3.8; P.C. 6.3,9  
**ο νεαϥ** *be glorious* T.C. 2.75  
**αι εαϥ** *be glorified* : **αι ε(αϥ)** T.C. 2.75  
**εοϥεν** *colour* T.S/C. 1.6  
**εοϥεν** *open* T.S/C. 2.53  
**εϣ** *what?* T.S/C. 2.121 vid.  
**εϣωπε** see **ϣωπε**  
**εϣδε** *if* P.C. 9.[11]  
**εραμ** see **ωϣ εραμ**
- ει** *come* T.C. 2.121; P.C. 1.17,18; P.C. 2.55; P.C. 7.16; T.S/C.  
 2.19,38,44,66,144; **ει̅** T.S/C. 2.61; imper. **αμη̅ι̅νε** T.S/C. 2.154 vid.  
**γι̅νε̅ι** *advent* T.C. 7.9 vid.,25  
**ει̅** see **ειρε**  
**ιε** *then* P.C. 2.36  
**ειβ** *sting* P.C. 2.53  
**ιε̅ιε̅ε̅λ : ϥ† ιε̅ιε̅ε̅λ** *brightness* T.C. 2.68 vid.  
**ιαμ** *sea* T.C. 4.[20]  
**εινε** *bring* T.S/C. 2.31  
**̅νε̅-** T.S/C. 2.43  
**̅νε̅τ=** P.C. 2.58  
**εινε** *liken* T.C. 2.34  
 mn. **εινε** *likeness* P.C. 2.51 vid.; P.C. 3.9  
**απι̅νε** **μ-** *after the likeness of* T.C. 1.4-5,11,13

**ιορ** see **ειορε**

**ειορε** canal : **ΔΙ ΝΕΙΟΡΕ** vb. *ferry* T.C. 2.137; **ΔΙ ΝΙΟΡ** T.C. 7.29

**ειρε** make, do P.C. 6.[19]; with relative converter (**ετ-**) **ετρε** P.C. 6.17

qual. **ο** T.C. 1.6; T.C. 2.75; P.C. 8.2; **ο`** P.C. 6.5; **εῖ** P.C. 6.40; **ε** P.C.

6.33

**δψιρε** busy T.C. 7.49

**ειωρρ** see P.C. 1.9; P.C. 2.62

**εις** lo T.C. 4.14 vid.; P.C. 1.4,5,9,10; P.C. 2.85,108; **ρεις** P.C. 2.67

**ιωс** be quick : qual. **ῖнс** P.C. 1.7

**ειετ=** see **ψι**

**ῖωτ** father T.C. 1.1,3,5,6,11,14; T.C. 2.148; T.C. 4.28,40; P.C. 2.7; T.S/C.

2.43,137; **ιωτ** T.C. 2.131,136,142; T.C. 7.19,43; P.C. 2.[67],104 vid.; P.C. 9.16;

**ειωτ** T.C. 2.147; P.C. 1.2,3; P.C. 3.2; **ε<ι>ωτ** P.C. 1.16

pl. **ῖατε** T.C. 4.4 vid.; T.C. 6.[9]; **ειατε** P.C. 1.10; P.C. 9.[14]

**ῖτ̄ῖ** ground in **ΔΠῖτ̄ῖ** down P.C. 1.20; **ΔΠῖτ̄ῖ** P.C. 2.40; T.S/C. 2.136

**ΠCΔNΠῖτ̄ῖ** below P.C. 8.33

**ειψπε** see **ψωπε**

**κε-** adj. other T.C. 4.19; T.S/C. 2.15; **κεοθε** see **οθε**

**κοθι** little, small P.C. 7.10; **κοθει** T.C. 2.42; P.C. 2.42; P.C. 9.17

**μῖτκοθῖ** youth P.C. 2.27

**ῖκοθῖ** be small P.C. 9.[4]

**κω** let, leave T.C. 6.2 vid.; **κωε** T.C. 2.64

**κα-** see **ναβε** and **ρηт**

qual. **κн** P.C. 3.9 (or **κнт** see **κωт**?)

**κεκει** darkness P.C. 1.4,21; **κεκε** P.C. 6.35; **κε(κε)** T.C. 2.29,30

**κλαμ** crown nn. T.C. 2.82,123; P.C. 1.12

**†κλαμ** P.C. 7.27

**κωλρ** strike T.C. 7.27

**κιμ** shake : **κιμ-** P.C. 2.34

**κωμψ** sneer vb. T.C. 2.24

**κωνс** pierce T.S/C. 2.115 vid.

**κραψ** guile P.C. 2.25

**ῖκραψ** lie in wait P.C. 2.[39?]

**κωт** edify T.C. 7.34

**καт=** T.C. 2.60

qual. **κнт** P.C. 3.9 (or **κн** see **κωт**?)

nn. **κωт** building T.C. 7.33

- ΚΩΤΕ** *turn* P.C. 1.7 vid.; *be surrounded* T.S/C. 1.10; + **Δ-** *surround* P.C. 2.45  
**ΚΔΤ̄** *guile* T.S/C. 1.37a  
**ΚΔϩ** *earth* T.C. 4.[19]; T.C. 7.5,50; P.C. 1.20; P.C. 2.82  
**ΚΩϩ** *envy* nn. T.C. 2.33
- ΛΔΟϮΕ** *any* T.C. 2.125
- Λ-** see **Ν-** prep. of relation
- ΛΔ** *place* T.C. 6.13; P.C. 1.28; P.C. 2.90; P.C. 9.1 vid.; T.S/C. 2.128  
**ΛΔ Ν-** see **ΨΔΛΕΤ, ϩΜΟΟС**  
**ΛΔ** imper. of **†** *give* P.C. 2.24  
**ΛΕ** *love* : **ΛΕΡΙΤ** *beloved* T.C. 2.139-140; **ΛΕΡΕΤΕ** T.S/C. 1.40  
**ΛΗΕ** *truth* T.C. 2.116; P.C. 2.105; **ΛΙΕ** P.C. 6.6,37  
**ΛΗΕ** *true* T.C. 6.9 vid.; T.C. 7.44 **ΛΕ** T.S/C. 2.120 (?)  
**Λ̄ΛΗΕ** *truly* T.C. 4.8  
**ΛΟ** in **Λ̄ΛΟ** *there* T.C. 1.12  
**ΛΟϮ** *die* T.C. 2.91  
nn. **ΛΟϮ** *death* P.C. 1.22,27; P.C. 2.38,54  
**ΔΤΛΟϮ** *immortal* T.C. 6.[4]; T.C. 7.50  
**Λ̄Ν̄ΤΔΤΛΟϮ** *immortality* P.C. 1.[24]  
**ΛΔΚΜΕΚ** *thought* P.C. 6.24 vid.  
**Λ̄ΛΕ** *understand* T.S/C. 2.35  
**Λ̄ΛΟ** see **ΛΟ**  
**Λ̄Ν̄** *with, and* T.C. 2.14,19,26,52,72,98,121,122, 123 bis,133,139,161; T.C. 7.45,46,48;  
P.C. 1.14,25 bis,26; P.C. 2.42,54,71,106 vid.; P.C. 6.4,7 bis,10 vid.,[10],11,24,37,53;  
P.C. 8.15,21 vid.; T.S/C. 1.12; T.S/C. 2.30,108; **ΛΝ** P.C. 1.16; P.C. 2.70  
vid.,105 vid.; P.C. 6.3,[9]  
**ΝΛΜΕ**= P.C. 2.81; P.C. 8.9 vid.; **Ν̄Λ̄ΜΕ**= P.C. 6.[23]  
**Λ̄Ν̄** *there is not* T.C. 4.26; P.C. 2.25; P.C. 6.12; P.C. 7.13  
**ΛΝΤΕ**= *not to have* P.C. 6.19; **Λ̄Ν̄Τ**= P.C. 6.20  
**ΛΝ-** negative imperative prefix P.C. 6.39,40  
**ΛΗΝΕ** in **Λ̄ΛΗΝΕ** *daily* T.C. 4.63  
**ΛΗΝΕ** nn. *mark* P.C. 2.59 vid.  
**ΛΩΝ̄** *form* vb. T.S/C. 2.65  
**Λ̄Ν̄Τ-** abstract-forming prefix see **ΚΟϮΕΙ, ΡΩΜΕ (ΡΜΜΔΟ), ρ̄ρ̄ο, с̄β̄βε,**  
**ΤΔΚΟ, ΨΗΡΕ** and **ΔΩΡΕ**  
**Λ̄Ν̄Τ-** in numerals eleven to nineteen: see **СΔϮ, †ΟϮ** and **ϣΤΔϮ**  
**ΛΝΤΕ**= see **Λ̄Ν̄** *there is not*



- Μῆτρε** *witness* : **ῥῆμῆτρε** *bear witness* P.C. 6.23  
**Μῆτρε** see **ϸνεϸ**  
**ῆπῥ**- *do not ...* T.C. 2.28,64; P.C. 2.32; P.C. 7.18; P.C. 9.[4],5; **ῆπῥ**- T.C. 2.158; **ῆπῥ**- P.C. 3.3  
**μοϸρ** *bind* + **ε** T.C. 2.5  
**μαρ**= T.C. 2.43; P.C. 2.41 vid.,51  
**ῆρε** nn. *chain* T.C. 2.38; **ῆρε** T.C. 4.17; P.C. 2.[52]  
**μεριτ** and **μερετε** see **με**  
**μησε** *birth* nn. T.S/C. 2.141  
**ψαμισε** *first-born* P.C. 1.17  
**μαστε** *hate* vb. T.C. 6.12 vid.  
**μεστε** *hatred* T.C. 2.33; **μαστε** P.C. 2.[57]  
**ῆστοϸ** *hated one* T.C. 7.35  
**μαῖτ** *way* T.C. 6.7 vid.  
**δειμαδειτ** *guide* P.C. 6.34 vid.  
**μετε** in **†μετε** *agree* T.C. 7.6  
**μετε** in **ῆμετε** *only* P.C. 8.30  
**μητε** *middle* P.C. 6.23  
**μοϸτε** *call* P.C. 6.28; + **οϸϩη**= P.C. 1.[10]; P.C. 2.32  
**ῆταν** *rest, come to rest, rely* T.C. 2.140; T.C. 7.18; P.C. 6.29 vid.; T.S/C. 2.146 vid.,[148]  
**ματη**= T.S/C. 2.130; **μετηε**= T.S/C. 2.145,146,149  
**μετοϸε** see **ῆακμετοϸε**  
**μαϸ** *water* P.C. 1.26; **μαοϸ** T.C. 2.131  
**μεϸ** in **ετμμεϸ** *that* T.S/C. 2.42-43 vid.; **ετῆμεϸ** T.S/C. 2.91  
**μεϸ** *mother* P.C. 1.[9?],18  
**μεοϸε** *think* T.C. 2.158; P.C. 8.14; **μοϸε** P.C. 2.48  
nn. **μεϸε** *thought* P.C. 2.36  
**μοϸε** see **μεοϸε** *think*  
**μοϸοϸῥ** *slay* T.C. 2.9  
**μαϩ**- see under one of the following: **ϸνεϸ**, **†οϸ**, **ψαμτ**, **ϣταϸ**  
**μοϸϩ** *fill* T.S/C. 2.76,78  
qual. **μηϩ** T.C. 4.[6],52  
nn. **μοϸϩ** *fullness* T.S/C. 2.16,81  
**μαϩαῖπε** *filling up* T.S/C. 2.4  
**μαϩε** *travel* P.C. 2.52; T.S/C. 2.48; + **αϩρηῖ** *travel up* T.S/C. 2.18

- Ν-** pl. def. art. **T.C. 4.4** etc.; **Ν̄=** **T.C. 1.14 bis,15** etc.  
 demonstrative pronoun **ΝΕἶ** **P.C. 6.20**; **Ν̄ΕΙ** **T.C. 6.9**; **P.C. 9.10**; **ΝΕΕΙ**  
**P.C. 1.1**; **P.C. 6.5**;  
 demonstrative article **ΝΙ-** **T.C. 2.24**; **T.C. 7.12** etc.  
**Ν=** possessive **T.C. 1.7,9**; **T.C. 6.[8]**; **P.C. 8.22**
- Ν-** prep. of relation (genitive, direct object, adverbial, locative, partitive, attributive etc.)  
**Ν̄-** **T.C. 1.3,7,12,14** etc.; **Ν-** **P.C. 6.34** etc.; **Μ̄-** **T.C. 1.2,3,5,6 bis,13 bis,14** etc.;  
**Μ-** **T.C. 1.11** etc.; **ΝΤΕ-** **T.C. 2.[92]**; **T.C. 4.2,3,9** vid. etc.; **Ν̄ΤΕ-** **T.C.**  
**2.8,29,32**; **T.C. 4.29**; **T.C. 7.20,36** etc.  
**Μ̄ΜΔ=** **T.C. 2.97,119,146** etc.; **ΜΜΔ=** **T.C. 2.58,126,137,141** etc.; **Μ̄ΜΟ=**  
**T.C. 2.43,63,65** etc.; **ΜΜΟ=** **T.C. 2.48,71** etc.; **Μ̄ΜΩ=** **T.C. 2.11** etc.  
**ΝΕ=** **T.C. 2.51,78,160** etc.; **ΝΗ=** **T.C. 2.117,122,129,132,143** etc.  
**ΝΕ=** + obj. suffix **P.C. 2.24**
- Ν̄-** bring see **ΕΙΝΕ**
- ΝΔ** mercy, charity **T.C. 2.154**; **ΝΔΕ** **T.C. 2.72**
- ΝΕ** see **ΠΕ** copula
- ΝΕ(Ε)Ι, ΝΙ** see **Ν-** pl. def. art.
- ΝΔΒΕ** sin : **ῑΝΔΒΕ** vb. **P.C. 6.13**; **ῑΝΔΒΙ** **P.C. 6.14**  
**ρεϥῑΝΔΒΕ** sinner **T.C. 4.[11]**  
 nn. **ΚΑΝΔΒΕ ΔΒΔΛ** forgiveness of sin **T.C. 4.23**
- ΝΔΕΙΚ** adulterer **P.C. 6.40**  
**ῑΝΔΕΙΚ** commit adultery **P.C. 6.40**
- Ν̄ΚΕ** thing **T.C. 2.46**
- ΝΙΜ** who? **T.C. 1.1**; **T.C. 2.148**; **P.C. 8.12** vid.
- ΝΙΜ** every **T.C. 2.46**; **T.C. 4.13**; **T.C. 7.46**; **P.C. 1.16**; **P.C. 6.8,10**; **P.C.**  
**9.8,10,12,20**
- ΝΜΜΕ=** see **Μ̄Ν** with
- ΝΟϚΝ** abyss **T.C. 2.54**; **T.C. 7.24**
- ΝΔΝΟϚ=** be good **P.C. 6.3**
- ΝΟϚΝΕ** root **P.C. 2.53**
- ΝCΔ-**, **ΝCΩ=** see **CΩΤΜ**, **ΟϚΩϚ** and **ΨΙΝΕ**
- Ν̄ΕΙΕΤ=** be blessed **T.C. 2.90**
- Ν̄Τ=** see **ΕΙΝΕ** bring
- ΝΤΕ-** see **Ν-** prep. of relation
- ΝΟϚΤΕ** god **T.C. 2.8**; **T.C. 4.50**; **T.C. 6.7,[36]**; **T.C. 7.16**; **P.C. 2.10** vid.,75  
 vid.; **P.C. 6.12,17,[26],31** vid.,43,44; **P.C. 9.9**
- Ν̄ΤΟ** see **ΔΝΔΚ**
- Ν̄ΤΔΚ, Ν̄ΤΚ** see **ΔΝΔΚ**

**ἄτοτ**= see **τωρε**

**ἄταϥ** see **ἀνακ**

**ἄταϥ** but T.C. 2.30,41

**νεϑ** look, see T.S/C. 2.5,92; + **ἀβδαλ** look out P.C. 7.17

**νεϑ** time T.S/C. 2.91

**ἄηϑ** **ἀβδαλ** come forth T.S/C. 2.26

**νοϑμε** be sweet : qual. **νατμε** T.S/C. 2.108

**ναψω**= be many T.S/C. 2.139 (?)

**ναϥρε** good P.C. 9.19; **ῑναϥρε** be good P.C. 6.32,46

**νοϑμε** save, be saved T.S/C. 2.72

qual. **ναμε** T.C. 4.62 vid.

**ναρῑ-** and **ναρμ-** see **ρο**

**ἄητ**= see **ρη**

**ναρτε** **ερα**=/ **αρα**= believe in, be sure T.C. 2.80; T.C. 7.46; P.C. 2.30;

P.C. 6.33

nn. **ναρτε** faith T.C. 2.119; P.C. 2.[106]; T.S/C. 1.32

**νοϑ** false P.C. 9.[13]

**νοϑε** cast T.C. 6.4 vid.,20; P.C. 7.21; + **ἀβδαλ** T.C. 6.[20]

**να** = P.C. 2.110

**ἄρι** namely T.C. 2.22,24,34; T.C. 4.21; T.C. 7.5,6,35; P.C. 2.44,46,50; T.S/C.

2.16,27,71,139; **ναρι** T.S/C. 2.43,64

**να** great T.C. 7.36; P.C. 2.34,42; P.C. 7.11; T.S/C. 2.28

**νεγε** quarrel (?) P.C. 2.46

**ο** what? P.C. 6.38

**ο, ο`** see **ειρε**

**ορ** moon P.C. 8.26 vid.; T.C. 7.48

**π-** masc. sing. def. art. T.C. 1.1 bis,3 bis,4,5 ter,6 bis,7,10,11 ter,13,14 bis etc.;

preceding two consonants : **π-** T.C. 2.127; **πε-** T.C. 2.124

**πει** demonstr. pronoun *this* P.C. 3.[5]; P.C. 8.12,30 vid.; **πει** P.C. 9.3

**πι-** demonstr. article *this* T.C. 2.35 etc.

**πετ-** rel. prefix T.C. 1.2,4,10 etc.

**π=** possessive art. T.C. 2.120,133 etc.; **πε=** T.C. 2.57,59,82 bis,95,118 bis,121,147 etc.

**πε** copula T.C. 1.1 bis,4,6,10; T.C. 2.3,89; T.C. 6.11 vid.; P.C. 2.26; P.C. 3.5

vid.; P.C. 6.51,55,57,[57],58; P.C. 8.12

- TE** T.C. 7.40 vid.,41 vid.  
**NE** P.C. 6.[16]  
**PE** *heaven* T.S/C. 1.7  
**ϢΑΝΤΠΕ** *above* P.C. 2.23; **ΠϢΑΝΤΠΕ** P.C. 8.32  
**ΠΕΙ** see Π-  
**ΠΙ-** see Π-  
**ΠΩΝΕ** *turn* vb. T.S/C. 1.5  
**π̄ρειε** *shine* vb. : qual. **πριωοϥ** T.C. 4.9 vid.  
 nn. **π̄ρειε** *splendour* T.C. 2.111  
**πρω** *winter* T.C. 4 .21 vid.  
**πωρκ** **αβαλ** *root out* P.C. 1.27  
**πωρϣ** *spread* : qual. **παρϣ** + **αβαλ** *be spread out* T.C. 1.8  
**πωρ̄** **αβαλ** *separate* T.S/C. 2.47  
**ψιϢ** *nine* T.S/C. 2.[10],12  
**πωτ̄** **ἡτοτ=** *flee from* T.C. 4.59 vid.  
**ποοϥ** see ϣοοϥ  
**πωϣ** **ἡϣητ** *heartbreak* T.C. 4.52  
**πωϣ** *attain, reach* T.C. 7.13; P.C. 1.10; T.S/C. 2.27  
**παϣρε** *cure* nn. P.C. 2.3  
**ῥπαϣρε** P.C. 2.56 vid.
- ῥ-, ϣ-** (**ειρε**) P.C. 6.46; P.C. 8.5; see second element: **βωλε**, **κοϥἰ**,  
**κραϣ**, **μἡτρε**, **ναβε**, **ναικ**, **ναϣρε**, **παϣρε**, **ωβϣ**, **ϣαἰε**,  
**ϣβρρε**, **ϣαρπ**, **ϣεϥ**, **ϣωβ**, **ϣματ**, **ϣωρε**, *ἀναχωρεῖν*, *ἄρχεσθαι*,  
*ἀποτάσσειν*, *γυμνάζειν*, *ἐλπίς*, *θαρρεῖν*, *κατηγορεῖν*, *κοσμεῖν*, *μαστιγοῦν*,  
*παιδεύειν*, *παραβαίνειν*, *πείθειν*, *πλανᾶσθαι*, *πλάσσειν*, *σκύλλειν*, and *συλᾶν*
- ρη** *sun* T.C. 7.48  
**ρο** *door* T.C. 7.25  
**ῥο**, **μἡτῥο** see **ῥῥο**  
**ρω** *yet* T.S/C. 2.82 vid.  
**ραϣϣ** *burn* P.C. 2.47  
**ριμε** *tear* pl. **ρμεοϥε** T.C. 2.154  
**ρωμε** *man* T.C. 2.28,128,132; T.C. 7.26; P.C. 1.3,17; P.C. 2.[64],66; P.C.  
 6.8,26  
**μἡτρμμο** *richness* T.C. 4.[55]  
**ρεν** *name* T.C. 4.55; P.C. 6.44  
**ῥπε** *temple* : pl. **ρηϥε** P.C. 6.41; **ῥπηοϥε** T.C. 2.14



**ρ̄ρο** *king* T.C. 1.6,7; **ρ̄ο** T.C. 2.96

**μ̄ντρ̄ρο** *kingdom* P.C. 1.13; **μ̄ντρ̄ο** T.C. 2.141

**ρ̄εις** *watch* vb. T.C. 2.76

**ρεφ̄ρ̄αις** *guard* T.C. 7.[3] (?)

**ρεεστε** *tomorrow* P.C. 2.84

**ρετ=** *foot* in **δρετ=** *to foot of* T.C. 2.81,124,138-139; T.C. 7.2 vid.

see **ταζο, ωζε**

**ρεϊτε** *kindred* T.S/C. 1.35; T.S/C. 2.126; **ρεειτ** P.C. 2.55 vid.

**ρητε** *manner* : **μ̄ρητε** *in the manner* T.C. 1.6

**ραοσϣ** *care* T.C. 4.[53]

**рещ̄е** *rejoice* T.C. 2.83,97,149,157; P.C. 2.73; T.S/C. 1.27; T.S/C. 2.[133]

nn. **рещ̄е** *joy* T.C. 4.29,31; T.C. 7.[36]; P.C. 1.14

**рещ̄рещ̄: ροσρεщ̄рещ̄** *blossom* vb. P.C. 8.3 vid.

**реφ-, реφ̄ρ-** see under **ναβε, ραις, ρω, τωρη, ταщ̄ο, ρεπ, ρωτ̄β, βρο**

**σα** *side, part* : **нс̄а-, нс̄ω=** see **с̄ωт̄м, о̄σ̄ωρ, щ̄ине**

**σανπιτη** see **ιτη, с̄ант̄пе** see **πε** *sky*, **с̄ан̄ρ̄ο̄σ̄н** see **ρ̄ο̄σ̄н**

**с̄ι** *satisfy* T.C. 4.60

**с̄ае̄ι** *beauty* T.C. 2.70; **с̄а̄ιе** T.C. 4.[15]; **с̄а̄ιе** T.S/C. 1.19

**с̄ω** *drink* vb. **с̄ο=** T.S/C. 2.114

nn. T.C. 4.60

**с̄β̄ω** *doctrine* T.C. 2.60; P.C. 9.9,[20]

**†с̄β̄οσ** *teach* P.C. 6.38 vid., 38; **†с̄β̄ω** P.C. 9.9 vid.

**реφ†с̄β̄οσ** *corrector* P.C. 6.35

**с̄β̄е** *circumcision* P.C. 6.[48],51,54,56 vid.,57,58 bis; **с̄β̄+ме+** P.C. 6.45-46  
vid.

**μ̄ντατ̄с̄β̄е** *uncircumcision* P.C. 6.48,49,[50-51],51-52

**с̄β̄ακ** *lessen* P.C. 8.26

**с̄β̄ме** see **с̄β̄е**

**с̄αβ̄т̄ē** *prepare* T.C. 2.61; **с̄αβ̄т̄е** T.C. 2.71

**с̄β̄т̄ωт̄=** T.S/C. 2.64

qual. **с̄β̄т̄αт̄`** *be set in order* T.S/C. 2.82

**с̄ωκ** *draw* P.C. 2.43 vid.

**с̄αλс̄λ̄** *consolation* T.C. 7.13

**с̄μοσ̄** vb. *praise* T.C. 2.1,27,144

nn. **с̄μοσ̄** *blessing* T.C. 2.47

- Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲁ** *bless* : qual. **Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ** T.C. 4.[1]; **Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲁⲧ** P.C. 1.23  
 nn. **Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲁ** *blessing* T.C. 2.133; **Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲉ** T.S/C. 1.18  
**Ϣⲙⲁⲙⲁ** see **Ϣⲙⲟϥ**  
**Ϣⲙ̄ⲛⲉ** *construct* T.S/C. 2.56  
**Ϣⲁⲛ** *brother* : pl. **Ϣⲛⲏϥ** T.C. 6.8  
**ⲙⲏ̄ⲧϢⲁⲛ** *brotherhood* T.S/C. 2.139  
**Ϣⲛⲉϥ** *two*  
**ⲙⲁϩϢⲛⲉϥ** *second* T.C. 1.5  
**ⲙⲏ̄ⲧϢⲛⲁϥϢ** *twelve* T.C. 1.12-13 vid.; **ⲙⲏ̄ⲧϢⲛⲁϥϢ** T.C. 1.14  
**Ϣⲛⲁϥ** *blood* P.C. 9.1  
**Ϣⲛⲁϥϩ** *fetter* T.C. 2.19; **Ϣⲛⲁϩ** T.C. 4.[17]  
**Ϣⲁⲡ** *time* P.C. 7.9  
**ϢⲁⲡϢⲏ̄** *prayer* P.C. 9.3  
**Ϣⲱⲣ** *extend, be extended* T.C. 2.91 vid.; + **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** *spread out, be divided*  
 T.S/C. 2.52  
**Ϣⲁⲣ**= T.C. 4.[30]; + **ⲁⲃ/** T.S/C. 2.57  
**Ϣⲱⲣⲙⲉ** *err* T.C. 7.9  
 qual. **Ϣⲁⲣⲙ̄** *be lost* T.S/C. 1.12  
**Ϣⲉⲧⲉ** *fire* T.C. 2.134; P.C. 1.5,[26?]; P.C. 2.48  
**Ϣⲱⲧⲉ** *redeem* : **ⲣⲉϥϢⲱⲧⲉ** *redeemer* T.C. 2.112-113  
**Ϣⲧ̄** **ⲓⲉⲗⲉⲓⲉⲗ** see **ⲓⲉⲗⲉⲓⲉⲗ**  
**Ϣⲱⲧⲙ** *hear, listen* T.C. 2.36 vid.; **Ϣⲱⲧⲙ̄** T.C. 6.3; T.C. 7.14; P.C. 6.[16];  
**Ϣⲱⲧⲙⲉ** P.C. 2.23  
**Ϣⲁⲧⲙⲉ**= P.C. 8.13  
**ⲁⲧϢⲱⲧⲙ̄** **ⲛϢⲁ-** *unhearing, disobedient* P.C. 6.5  
**Ϣⲧ̄ⲛⲟϥϥⲉ** *perfume* T.S/C. 1.25  
**Ϣⲱⲧⲡ** *choose* P.C. 2.[16?]  
 nn. **Ϣⲱⲧⲡ** *elect* P.C. 2.71 vid.,[105]  
**Ϣⲱⲧϣ̄** *purify* P.C. 1.7  
**Ϣⲁϥ** *six* : in **ⲙⲏ̄ⲧⲉϢⲁ** *sixteen* T.S/C. 2.9  
**Ϣⲟϥ**- *day* T.S/C. 2.2,3,9,10,12,17,21,26  
**Ϣⲁϥⲛⲉ** *know* T.C. 2.79; T.C. 6.b-6; P.C. 6.31; P.C. 8.17; **Ϣⲟϥⲱⲛ** T.C.  
 4.57; T.S/C. 2.34,36  
 nn. **Ϣⲁϥⲛⲉ** *knowledge* T.C. 2.118; T.C. 4.[24]; P.C. 6.37 vid.; T.S/C. 2.33  
**Ϣⲁϥⲧⲏ̄** *straighten* T.C. 2.62; **Ϣⲟϥⲧⲱⲛ** P.C. 9.26  
**Ϣⲱⲟϥϩ** *gather* T.C. 2.18,50 vid.; **Ϣⲱⲟϥϩ** **ⲁϩⲟϥⲛ** *gather together*  
 T.S/C. 1.15  
**Ϣⲁϥϩ**= **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** T.C. 6.5

- ϸΔΕΙΨ** *twin, counterpart* masc. T.C. 2.120-121; fem. **ϸΔῖΨ** T.C. 7.20  
**ϸΙΨϸ** *be bitter* : qual. **ϸΔΨϸ** P.C. 2.54  
**ϸΩΨ**̄ *stop* T.S/C. 2.150  
**ϸΔϧ** see **ϸϧΕΙ**  
**ϸϧΕΙ** *write* : qual. **ϸΗϧ** P.C. 6.22,45  
 nn. **ϸϧΕΙ** *writing* P.C. 6.53 vid.  
**ϸΔϧ** *teacher* P.C. 6.36  
**ϸΩϧΝΕ** *petition (?)* T.S/C. 2.95 vid.  
**ϸΩϧΠ** *be swallowed* : **ϸΔϧΠ**= T.S/C. 1.2  
**ϸΔῖϢ** *champion* T.C. 7.49  
**ϸΕϢΕ** *word, saying* T.C. 2.12; T.C. 4.[2]; P.C. 8.20  
**ϸΔϢΝΕ** *counsel* nn. P.C. 1.19  
**ϸϸρεϧ** *rest* P.C. 7.2; **ϸϸρεϧ**̄ P.C. 7.12-13
- ϸ**- fem. def. art. T.C. 2.2,8,45,50,69 etc.; preceding two consonants **ϸ**- T.C. 2.86;  
 T.C. 4.21 etc.  
 demonstrative pronoun **ϸΕΙ** T.C. 7.40 vid.,41 etc.; **ϸΕΕΙ** P.C. 2.63 vid. etc.  
 possessive art. **ϸ**= T.C. 2.53,66 etc.; **ϸΕ**= T.C. 2.60,62 etc.
- ϸΔΕΙΟ** *honour* vb. T.C. 2.85; **ϸΔΕΙ(Ο)** T.C. 2.145  
 nn. **ϸΔΕΙΟ** P.C. 6.3,10 vid.
- ϸΕ** *time* P.C. 2.41?
- ϸΕ** see **ΠΕ** copula
- ϸΕ(Ε)Ι** see **ϸ**-
- ϸ** *give* T.C. 2.57 vid.,58,65,117,122,128,132,156,160; T.C. 7.14; P.C. 1.23; P.C. 5.3;  
 P.C. 9.2; T.S/C. 2.29,49,110  
 + **ΔϢΩ**= *put upon* T.C. 2.23; T.S/C. 1.16  
 + **ἸΤΟΤ**= *aid* P.C. 7.19  
 + **ΟϢϢΕ** *fight against* P.C. 9.[2]; **ϸΕ ΟϢϢΕ** P.C. 9.2?  
 + **ϧΙΩΤ**=*vest* T.C. 2.95
- ϸ**- see **ΔϸΕ**, **ΚλΔΜ**, **ΜΕΤΕ**, **ϸῶ**, **ΤΩΝ** *dispute*, **ΤΩΡΕ**, **ϧΕΠ**  
**ϸΕΕ**= T.C. 2.125; P.C. 1.20; **ϸ**= P.C. 7.3
- ΤΟϢῶ** *make pure* T.C. 2.65,69; + **ΔῖΔλ** T.S/C. 2.124
- ΤΩῖΕ** *Tōbe* (the 5th Egyptian month) P.C. 8.1 vid.
- ΤΩῖΕ** *render* P.C. 6.1
- ΤΩῖϧ** *pray, implore* T.C. 2.109; **ΤΩῖϧ**` P.C. 2.24; P.C. 3.[10]
- ΤΩΚ** **ΔΡΕΤ**= *set firm* T.C. 2.81

- TEKO** *destroy, be destroyed* P.C. 6.14; T.S/C. 1.1; **ΤΔ(ΚΟ)** T.C. 2.46  
**TEKO** nn. *perdition* T.C. 2.32; **ΤΔΚΟ** *destruction* P.C. 2.39,61 (or **ΤΛΚΟ**?)  
**Μῆταττεκο** *immortality* P.C. 6.4 vid.  
**ΤΔΚΤΟ** *surround* (?): **ΤΚ`ΤΔ**- P.C. 3.4  
**ΤΔΛΟ** *go aboard (ship)* P.C. 1.11; **ΤΔΕΙΛΕ** *rise up* T.C. 2.130,133-134  
**ΤΛΚΟ** *healing* P.C. 2.61 (or **ΤΔΚΟ**?)  
**ΤΜΔΕΙΟ** *be justified* P.C. 6.18  
**ΤΩΝ** *dispute* nn. in **†ΤΩΝ** nn. *dispute* P.C. 6.5  
**ΤΩΝ (+ ρΔ)** *endure* P.C. 2.66  
**Τῆναδϥ** *send* T.C. 2.110; **Τηναδϥ** P.C. 2.22  
**Τῆναδϥ**= T.S/C. 2.60,96  
**Τηρ** *wing* T.C. 2.61  
**Τωπε** *taste* vb. : **†πε** nn. *taste* : **ΔΙ †πε** vb. *taste* T.C. 2.4,17; T.C. 4.[61]  
**Τηρ**= *all, every* T.C. 1.9; T.C. 2.157; T.C. 4.18,[50],56,60 vid.; T.C. 6.[12];  
P.C. 1.14,19,21-22; P.C. 2.23,30,[34],45-46,52,57 vid.,60,[105]; P.C. 7.[1-2];  
**Τη(ρ)**= T.C. 2.155  
**Πτηρϥ** *the all, totality* T.C. 5.2; P.C. 3.6; **Πτηρεϥ** T.C. 7.23  
**Τωρε** *hand* : **ΔΤΟΤ**= *to* T.C. 2.114; P.C. 2.33,35; **ΔΤΟΟΤ**= T.C. 2.126;  
**ΕΤΟΤ**= T.C. 2.156  
**ῆΤΟΤ**= P.C. 2.49; P.C. 7.19; T.C. 4.59 vid.  
**ρΔΤΜ-** *beside, with* P.C. 6.12  
**ρΙΤῆ-** P.C. 2.57 vid.; P.C. 6.27; **ρΙΤῆ-** P.C. 6.15; **ρῆΤΜ-** P.C. 6.53;  
**ρΙΤΟΟΤ**= P.C. 9.6  
**†ΤΟΤ**= *help* T.C. 7.32; P.C. 2.58; **† ηΤΟΤ**= P.C. 7.19  
**Τωρη** *seize* in **ρηϥΤωρη** *ravenous one* P.C. 2.47  
**τροϥδαινε, τροϥδῆνε** see **οϥδαινε**  
**Τσδειο** *make beautiful* T.C. 2.70  
**Τσιο: ΤσιΔ**= *sate* T.C. 6.[16]  
**Τσεβο** *teach, show* P.C. 6.21,32  
**ΤσββΔ**= T.C. 7.42  
**†ΤΟΤ**= see **Τωρε**  
**Τηοϥ** *wind* P.C. 1.25  
**†οϥ** *five* T.C. 1.3; P.C. 1.22  
**Μαρ†οϥ** *fifth* T.C. 1.11-12  
**Μῆτη** *fifteen* T.S/C. 2.17  
**Ταϥο** vb. *increase* : **Τεϥεδειϥ** *preach* P.C. 6.39  
**ρηϥΤαϥεδειϥ** *proclaimer* T.C. 2.37  
**Ταρο** *reach* in **Ταρο αρετ**= *establish* P.C. 9.24



ΘΒΒΙΟ vb. *humiliate* T.C. 2.21

ΘΒΐΔ= P.C. 1.5

ΤΩϲΜ̄ *knock* T.C. 2.6

ΤΔϲΜ̄= *summon* T.C. 2.10

Θ`Μ̄ΚΟ *afflict* P.C. 5.2; ΘΜ̄ΚΔϲ ΝϲΗ† T.S/C. 2.7

ΤΔΔΟ *judgment* T.C. 4.[10]

ΤΟϲΔΟ *save* T.C. 2.48

ΤΔΔΡΟ *make strong, be confirmed* T.C. 2.59; T.S/C. 2.111

ΤΔΔΡΔ= T.C. 2.118

†ΓΕ *vegetable* T.S/C. 2.108

ΤΩΓΕ *plant* vb. T.S/C. 2.156

Οϲ - indef. art. T.C. 1.4,6,10 etc.

ΟϲΔ *blasphemy* : ΔΕΟϲΔ *blaspheme* P.C. 6.44

ΟϲΕ *one* T.S/C. 2.29

ΚΕΟϲΕ *another one* P.C. 6.38; T.S/C. 2.30

ΠΟϲΕ ΠΟϲΕ *each one* P.C. 6.[1]

ΟϲΗΕ *against, toward* T.C. 7.27; P.C. 8.19 vid.,28 vid.,29 vid.,30; P.C. 9.2

ΟϲΒΗ= P.C. 1.11; P.C. 2.32

ΟϲΔΗΕ see ΟϲΟΠ

ΟϲΩΛΕ *(over)flow* qual. ΟϲΔΛΕ T.S/C. 2.4

ΟϲΔΗ *someone, something* T.C. 7.46; P.C. 6.10 vid.; P.C. 9.12

ΟϲΝ̄- *there is/are* P.C. 7.8,12

ΟϲΝΤΕ= + Μ̄ΜΟ *have* T.C. 1.12; preceded by Ε-: ΕϲΝ̄ΤΕ= P.C. 6.36

ΟϲΔΕΙΝΕ *light* T.C. 2.112,114 vid.,115,136,138,140,142,151; P.C. 1.19-20,[25];

P.C. 6.34; ΟϲΔΐΝΕ T.C. 1.8; T.S/C. 2.71,142,[143]; ΟϲΔΙΝΕ T.C.

7.20,30; ΟϲΔΕΙΝ P.C. 1.7,12; P.C. 2.13 (?); P.C. 3.7 vid.; Οϲ(ΔΕΙΝΕ)

T.C. 2.86,97; ΟϲΔ(ΕΙΝΕ) T.C. 2.25,97; ΟϲΕΙ(ΝΕ) T.C. 2.85 (?)

ΤΡΟϲΔΐΝΕ *enlighten, shine* T.C. 4.[18]; Τ̄ΡΟϲΔΐΝΕ T.S/C. 2.75 vid.;

ΤΡΟϲΔ(ΕΙΝΕ) T.C. 2.88

ΟϲΝΕΜ *right hand* T.C. 2.62 (?)

ΟϲΩΝΨ *wolf* P.C. 2.47

ΟϲΩΝϲ *reveal* + ΕΒΔΛ T.C. 2.142; ΟϲΩΝ̄ϲ ΔΒΔΛ T.S/C. 2.69-70

ΟϲΔΝϲ= P.C. 3.[8]; T.S/C. 2.87-88

qual. ΟϲΔΝϲ ΕΒΔΛ T.C. 2.22; P.C. 6.55,56; ΟϲΔΝ̄ϲ ΔΒΔΛ T.S/C.

2.[2-3,12]

nn. ΟϲΩΝ̄ϲ *appearance* T.S/C. 2.117

- ⲠⲟⲠ** *be pure* : qual. **Ⲡⲟⲗⲃⲉ** T.C. 4.27; T.C. 6.[17,31]; P.C. 2.[71],105; P.C. 4.[14-15]  
**Ⲡⲟⲃⲟⲩⲱⲡ** *cast down* T.S/C. 2.93  
**Ⲡⲟⲃⲁⲧ** *be eager, be refreshed, flourish, bloom* T.S/C. 1.20; T.S/C. 2.109 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲣⲗ** *set free* in **Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣⲗ**= **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** T.S/C. 2.99 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲉⲉⲧ**= *-self* P.C. 6.21; **Ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲧ**= P.C. 2.48 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃⲉ** *surpass* : qual. **Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲧⲃⲉ** T.C. 4.[55]  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧⲗ** **ⲁⲃ**/ *pour out* T.S/C. 2.63  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗ** *fruit* P.C. 2.54 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ** *time* T.C. 4.[39]  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ** *wish, desire* vb. P.C. 9.[6]; T.S/C. 2.131  
 nn. **Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ** *wish, will* nn. T.C. 7.17; P.C. 1.2; P.C. 6.31 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲏ** *night* P.C. 8.27 vid.,32 vid.; T.S/C. 2.25  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲃ(ⲉ)** *excuse* : **Ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲩⲃ**= P.C. 6.25 vid.  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧ** *worship* vb. T.C. 2.87  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲗ** in **Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲗ**= **ⲁⲗⲛ**- *add to* P.C. 8.6 vid.,7 vid.  
 +**ⲛⲥⲱ**= *follow* : qual. **Ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲗ** T.C. 4.64  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲗⲉ** *scorpion* P.C. 2.37  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲗⲉ** *fisher* P.C. 7.20  
**Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓ** *be safe, healthy* qual. **Ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲁ** T.C. 4.26
- ⲱ** *oh!* T.C. 2.51; P.C. 7.15  
**ⲱⲃⲱ** in **ⲃⲡⲱⲃⲱ** *forget* P.C. 9.[3]  
**ⲱⲕⲙⲉ** *be gloomy* : qual. **ⲁⲕⲙⲉ** T.C. 4.[21]  
**ⲱⲙⲥ** *sink* P.C. 7.18  
**ⲱⲛⲗ** *live* vb. T.C. 4.58  
 qual. **ⲁⲛⲗ** T.C. 2.130,131,134; P.C. 2.108 vid.  
 nn. **ⲱⲛⲗ** *life* T.C. 2.12,13; P.C. 1.[6]; P.C. 6.4; (**ⲱⲛⲗ**) T.C. 2.41; **ⲱⲛ̄ⲗ** T.S/C. 2.16; **ⲱ+ⲥⲗ**+ P.C. 1.18  
**ⲱⲡ̀** *count, be regarded* T.S/C. 2.152  
**ⲉⲡ-** P.C. 6.50  
**ⲱⲩⲉⲗⲁⲙ** *sigh* vb. T.S/C. 1.8  
**ⲱⲩⲙⲉ** *extinguish* P.C. 1.6 vid.  
**ⲱⲗⲉ** in **ⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ**= *set (fast)* P.C. 8.27 vid.,30 vid.  
**ⲱⲗ̄** *cease* : in **ⲁⲧⲱⲗ̄** *unceasing* T.S/C. 1.46

**ⲩ**- *be able to* P.C. 7.19

ϣΔ to T.C. 2.131,135; T.C. 4.[39]; P.C. 1.13; T.S/C. 2.21,28; see ΔΝΗΖΕ

ϣΔΡΔ= T.C. 2.110,121; P.C. 2.22

ϣΔϊε in ρϣΔϊε *make a festival* T.S/C. 1.28

ϣΕ go P.C. 1.13; P.C. 2.40; T.S/C. 1.7; *leave* T.C. 2.74

ϣΙ *measure* vb. T.C. 2.39; T.S/C. 1.47

nn. ϣΙ *measure* P.C. 8.8; T.C. 2.39; T.S/C. 2.116

ϣΙΒΕ *change* : ϣΒ- T.C. 7.11

ϣΒΒΙΩ *requital* T.C. 2.92 vid.

ϣΒΒΙΩ see ϣΙΒΕ

ϣΒΡΡΕ *friend* in ρϣΒΡΡΕ P.C. 2.74 (?)

ϣΩΚΖ *dig deep* : ϣΙΧΥ *depth* T.C. 2.3; P.C. 8.32; ϣΙΧΖΥ T.C. 2.29

ϣΩΛ *rob* P.C. 6.41

*flow* T.S/C. 2.104

ϣΔΛΕ(Ε)Τ *bride* T.C. 6.[32]

ΜΔ ΝϣΔΛΕΤ *bridechamber* T.C. 2.40

ϣΩΛΒ̄ *cut, pierce* T.S/C. 1.22

ϣΗΜ *small* see ϣΗΡΕ

ϣΜ̄Ο *stranger* P.C. 7.15

pl. ϣΜ̄ΜΔΕΙ T.C. 2.15

ϣΜΗΝ *eight* in ΔΟΘΤϣΜΗΝ *twenty-eight* T.S/C. 2.21 vid.

ϣΔΜΙΣΕ see ΜΗΣΕ

ϣΔΜΤ *three* T.C. 2.121

ΜΔΖϣΔΜΤ *third* T.C. 1.1-2,7-8; T.C. 2.109,135

ϣΗΝ *tree* T.C. 2.41; T.C. 4.13; P.C. 2.54; P.C. 7.24

ϣΙΝΕ *find* T.C. 2.7

+ ΝΣΔ-, ΝΣΩ= *seek* T.C. 6.10; P.C. 6.3

ϣΝΟΘΥ *good news* P.C. 2.[57]

ϣΝΟΘΥ see ϣΙΝΕ

ϣΝ ΖΤΗ= see ΖΗΤ

ϣΩΠ *accept, receive* T.C. 2.153

ϣΩΠ`- see ΖΜΔΤ

ϣΔΠ= P.C. 9.8; ϣΩΠ= T.S/C. 2.33

ϣΙΠΕ *shame* nn. T.C. 2.125

ϣΩΠΕ *become, come about* T.C. 2.66; P.C. 2.29,[40],42,44 vid.,55-56,60; P.C.

6.48; P.C. 7.11; P.C. 8.9 vid.; T.S/C. 2.81

qual. ϣΟΠ T.C. 1.3; T.C. 6.6; ϣΟΟΠ P.C. 2.63; P.C. 3.[1]; P.C. 6.2

vid.,[20]

ΕϣΩΠΕ *if* P.C. 6.[46-47],48; ΕΙϣΠΕ P.C. 6.[27-28]; ϣΩΠΕ P.C. 8.16

ϣⲁⲣⲁ= see ϣⲁ

ϣⲏⲣⲉ *child, son* T.C. 2.155; P.C. 1.23; P.C. 2.22,64,86; P.C. 9.[4,10],10

ⲙⲏ̄ⲧϣⲏⲣⲉ T.C. 6.[6]

ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ *child* P.C. 6.36

ϣⲁⲣⲡ *first, beginning* T.C. 2.129; P.C. 1.17; P.C. 2.65 bis; P.C. 6.9,11;

ϣⲁⲣⲡ̄ T.C. 1.4; T.C. 2.131; P.C. 1.2

ⲣ̄ϣⲁⲣⲡ *be first* T.C. 2.44

see ϣⲁⲙⲓϢⲉ

ϣⲱϢ *shepherd* P.C. 2.44

ϣⲱϢ *scorn* vb. P.C. 6.43

ϣⲱϢⲙ̄ *be disheartened* P.C. 9.5

ϣⲁⲧ *lack* vb. T.C. 2.146

ϣⲧⲣⲧⲣ̄ *disturb* P.C. 2.[85]

ϣⲉⲪ *use* in ⲣ̄ϣⲉⲪ *be useful, fitting* P.C. 8.5 vid.; T.S/C. 2.[135]

ϣⲉⲓⲟⲪⲉ *altar* T.C. 2.14 vid.

ϣⲟⲪⲟ *empty* vb. : qual. ϣⲟⲪ̄ⲓⲧ T.C. 4.53

ϣⲟⲪϣⲟⲪ *pride oneself, boast* T.C. 2.11; P.C. 6.29 vid.,42

ϣⲱϣ *make equal*: qual. ϣⲏϣ P.C. 8.15 vid.,16 vid.,20 vid.,29 vid.

ϣⲱϣⲧ *commit fault* P.C. 2.64

ϣⲁϣϣ̄ *despoiler (?)* T.C. 7.5

ϣⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ see ϩⲣⲏⲓ

ϣⲖⲁ *wound* nn. P.C. 2.[56]

ϣⲓ *take* P.C. 2.78 (?)

ϣⲓⲧ= P.C. 2.49; P.C. 8.6 vid.

ϣⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲁ- *bear up under* T.C. 2.67; ϣⲉⲓ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲉⲓ ϩⲁ- P.C. 1.1

ϣⲓ ⲉⲓⲉⲧ= *raise eyes* P.C. 1.8

ϣⲧⲁⲪ *four* : ⲙⲁϩϣⲧⲁⲪ *fourth* T.C. 1.10

ⲙⲏ̄ⲧⲉϣⲧⲉ *fourteen* T.S/C. 2.2,15

ϩⲁ- *under* T.C. 2.67; P.C. 1.1; *on behalf of* P.C. 1.24

ϩⲁ<ⲣⲁ>= T.C. 2.67; ϩⲁⲣⲱ= P.C. 2.45

ϩⲉ *way* P.C. 7.4

ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ *as* P.C. 6.45; ⲏ̄ⲧϩⲉ *N- like* P.C. 2.44,47

ϩⲉⲓⲉ *fall* P.C. 2.35

ϩⲓ *in, on* T.C. 2.147; T.C. 6.7 vid.; P.C. 2.43

ϩⲓⲱⲧ= T.C. 2.95



- ϺΟ** *face* T.C. 2.(31) T.S/C. 2.33 vid.  
**ϺΙ** *partiality* P.C. 6.12 vid.  
**ΝΔϺΡ̄**- *before* T.S/C. 2.137; **ΝΔϺΡΜ**- P.C. 6.[16-17]  
**ϺΩ**= with suffix pronoun *self* T.C. 2.45; T.C. 4.22; P.C. 7.4  
**ϺΩϸ** *also* T.C. 2.36  
**ϺΩϞ** *thing, work* T.C. 2.32; P.C. 6.[21]; with masc. def. art. (Π-) **ϺΩϞ** P.C. 6.2  
 pl. **ϺΩΗϺΕ** T.C. 5.3; P.C. 6.1 vid.  
**̄ϺΩϞ** *do a thing* P.C. 6.8,10-11  
**ϺΗϞΕ** *grief* P.C. 2.51  
**ϺϞΟϸ** *garment* T.S/C. 2.135  
**ϺϞϸΩ** T.C. 2.122; + fem. def. art. (Τ-) **ϞϞϸΩ** T.S/C. 1.44  
**ϺΩΚ** *brace* vb. T.C. 2.43  
**ϺΔΛϞΕϺΟ** *deceitful* T.C. 4.[51]  
**ϺΔΛΜΕ** *spring* T.C. 6.[16]  
**Ϻ̄** see **Ϻ̄**  
**ϺΩΜ** *trample* T.C. 6.[36]  
**ϺΔ(Ε)ΙΜΕ** *wave* : pl. **ϺΙΜΗΟϺΕ** T.C. 2.49; **ϺΙΜΕΟϺΕ** T.C. 4.20  
**ϺΜΟΟϸ** *sit* : **ϺΜΕϸΤ** P.C. 4.[12?]  
**ΜΔΝϺΜΕϸ̄** *seat* T.C. 4.[38]  
**ϺΜΔΤ** *present* nn. T.C. 4.30  
**̄ϺϺΜΔΤ** *give grace* T.S/C. 2.84  
**ϺΩΠ** *receive/give thanks* T.S/C. 2.42  
**ϺΟϺΝ** in **ΔϺΟϺΝ** *in, into* T.C. 7.27,35; P.C. 2.46; T.S/C. 1.15; T.S/C. 2.28,31,44,66,[144],154  
**ϸΔΝϺΟϺΝ** *within* P.C. 2.36  
**Ϻ̄** *in* T.C. 2.2,18,60,71,74,119,127,141; T.C. 4.31,47; T.C. 6.6,[14]; T.C. 7.9,24; P.C. 2.21,24,32,34,38,42,48,51,63,[62],88; P.C. 3.7; T.S/C. 1.18,25; T.S/C. 2.15,25,29,33,71,76,95,117; **ϺΝ** P.C. 6.44,52; **Ϻ̄** T.C. 2.35,59,118,128,129; T.C. 6.13, b-7; T.C. 7.17,26; P.C. 3.1; T.S/C. 1.19; **Ϻ̄** P.C. 6.14,[22],25,29 vid.,31 vid.,35,37,42 bis; **ϺΜ** P.C. 8.26 vid.,32 vid.  
**ΔϞΔΛ ϺΝ/ϺΝ/̄ϺΗΤ**= see **ΔϞΔΛ (ϞΩΛ)**  
**̄ϺΗΤ**= T.C. 6.[19]; T.C. 7.7; P.C. 2.25,52; T.S/C. 2.7,8,75; see also **ϺΡΗ̄**  
**Ϻ̄**- pl. indef. art. *some* P.C. 9.13 vid.,17; T.S/C. 2.108  
**ϺΕΠ** *judgment* : **†ϺΕΠ Δ-** *judge* P.C. 6.15  
**ΡΕϸ†ϺΕΠ** *judge* nn. T.C. 4.[3]  
**ϺΩΠ** *hide* : qual. **ϺΗΠ** T.C. 1.10; T.C. 4.25; with relative converter (ΕΤ-) **ΕΘΗΠ** T.C. 1.11; P.C. 6.26,57 vid.

- ϩⲣⲏⲓ** *upper part* in **ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ**= *within* T.C. 6.[19]; P.C. 2.56 vid.  
**ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ** *upwards* T.C. 2.138; T.S/C. 2.18,[19,123]; **ⲁϩⲣⲏⲕⲓ** T.C. 2.67;  
**ⲁϩⲣⲏⲉⲓ** P.C. 1.1  
**ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲗⲱ**= P.C. 5.2  
**ϣⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ** P.C. 7.3; T.S/C. 2.10  
**ϩⲣⲃ** *embodiment* P.C. 6.37  
**ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ** *flower* T.C. 4.14  
**ϩⲱⲣⲧ ⲁϩⲟⲟⲛ ⲁ-** *seize, arrest* (?) P.C. 2.46  
**ϩⲣⲁϣ ⲁϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲗⲱ**= *be heavy upon* P.C. 5.14  
**ϩⲁⲣⲏϩ** *be on guard, keep* T.C. 2.28; **ⲁⲣⲉϩ** P.C. 6.49  
**ϩⲓⲕⲉ** *trouble* vb.: **ϩⲁⲕⲧ**= T.C. 2.42  
 nn. **ϩⲓⲕⲉ** *suffering* T.C. 7.22,24  
**ϩⲏⲧ** *heart, mind* T.C. 7.13; P.C. 6.22 vid.; **ϩⲏⲧ`** T.S/C. 2.131; with masc.  
 def. art. (**ⲛ-**) **ϥⲏⲧ** P.C. 6.58  
**ⲁⲑⲏⲧ** *foolish* P.C. 6.35  
**ⲕⲁ ϩⲧⲏ**= *trust* T.S/C. 1.23  
**ϣⲏ ϩⲧⲏ**= *have pity* T.C. 2.159; see **ⲛⲱϣ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ**  
**ϩⲏⲧ**= see **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ (ⲃⲱⲗ)**  
**ϩⲓⲱⲧ**= see **ϩⲓ**  
**ϩⲁⲧⲉ** *moment* P.C. 5.3; P.C. 8.2  
**ϩⲱⲧⲃ** *murder* : **ⲣⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃ** *murderer* P.C. 2.33 vid.  
**ϩⲁⲧⲙ-**, **ϩⲓⲧⲙ-**, **ϩⲓⲧⲛ̅-** see **ⲧⲱⲣⲉ**  
**ϩⲁⲟ** *evil* : with relative converter (**ⲉⲧ-**) **ⲉⲑⲁⲟ** P.C. 6.8  
**ϩⲏⲟ** *profit* P.C. 7.8,10 vid.  
**ϩⲟⲟⲟ** *day* T.C. 7.36; P.C. 8.[7],31 vid.; T.S/C. 2.[15],69  
 with masc. def. art. (**ⲛ-**) **ϥⲟⲟⲟⲉ** P.C. 6.25 vid.  
**ⲙⲛⲟⲟⲟ** *today* T.C. 4.19  
**ϩⲓⲟⲟⲉ**: **ϩⲟⲟ-** see **ⲣⲉϣⲣⲉϣ**  
**ϩⲟⲟⲓⲧⲉ** *first* with fem. def. art. (**ⲧ-**) **ⲑⲟⲟⲓⲧⲉ** P.C. 8.21 vid.  
**ϩⲱϥ** see **ϩⲱ**=  
**ϩⲁϩ** *many* T.C. 2.31  
**ϩⲓⲗⲛ̅-** *over* T.C. 5.2; P.C. 7.26; **ϩⲓⲗⲏ-** P.C. 8.[31]
- ⲗⲁⲉⲓ** *ship* T.C. 2.130,134; P.C. 7.12; **ⲗⲁⲓ** T.S/C. 2.28,71,[78?]  
 pl. **ⲗⲏⲟ** P.C. 1.11  
**ⲗⲁⲉⲓⲉ** *desert* nn. P.C. 2.43  
**ⲗⲉ** *that, for* T.C. 1.4,5,8,10,12; T.C. 2.80,125,141; T.C. 4.[1],46; P.C. 2.21  
 vid.,26,73; P.C. 6.28,33,39,40,45; P.C. 8.[20],30; P.C. 9.4; **ⲗ** P.C. 2.48

- ΖΙ** *receive* T.C. 2.13; T.C. 7.28; P.C. 1.12; T.S/C. 1.26; T.S/C. 2.30,135; **ΧΙ**  
 T.C. 2.16  
**ΖΙ-** see **ΕΔΘ**, **ΕΙΟΡΕ**, **ΤΩΠΕ**, **ϋΟ**, **ΒΔΗC**  
**ΖΙΤ**= T.C. 2.94; + **ΔΡΕΤ**= T.C. 2.124  
**ΖΔΕΙ-** see **ΜΔΪΤ**
- ΖΟ** *plant* T.C. 2.2
- ΖΟΘ** *say* P.C. 6.40  
**ΖΕ-** see **ΟΘΔ**  
**ΖΟ**= T.C. 4.1; **ΖΟΟ**= P.C. 8.33
- ΖΩ**= see **ΔΖΝ̄**
- ΖΩΚ** *fulfil, finish* T.C. 2.119; T.C. 7.[47]; P.C. 1.1,15; P.C. 2.67 vid.,72,107;  
 T.S/C.1.24; T.S/C.2.78,80; + **ΔΒΔΛ** T.C. 2.152; P.C. 1.3; + **ΕΒΔΛ** T.C.  
 2.126  
**ΖΕΚ-** P.C. 6.52  
**ΖΔΚ**= T.C. 2.127  
 qual. **ΖΗΚ** T.C. 7.19,[26]; + **ΕΒΔΛ** T.C. 2.128; **ΖΗΚ`** **ΔΒΔΛ** T.S/C.  
 2.137
- ΖΩΚΜΕ** *wash* T.C. 4.33 vid.; **ΖΩΚΜ̄** T.C. 2.127  
**ΖΔΚΜ̄** for **ΖΔΚΜΗΝ** T.C. 4.31
- ΖΕΚΔC** *so that* P.C. 9.[27]
- ΖΩΛϋ`** *scoop* T.S/C. 2.79  
**ΖΔΛϋ**= T.S/C. 2.59
- ΖΔΕΙΜΔΕΙΤ** see **ΜΔΪΤ**
- ΖΙΝ̄-** *from, since* P.C. 2.65; P.C. 7.25; **ΖΝ̄-** T.C. 7.11,42; P.C. 2.27; T.S/C.  
 2.9,17
- ΖΠΙΟ** *put to shame* P.C. 9.[5]
- ΖΠΟ** *creature* T.C. 2.30; T.C. 7.6
- ΖΩΡΕ** *strong* : **βΖΩΡΕ** *be strengthened* T.S/C. 1.21  
**ΜΝ̄ΤΖΩΡΕ** *strength* T.S/C. 2.110
- ΖΔΪC** *lord* P.C. 2.21,28 bis,[70,104]; **ΖΔΕΙC** T.C. 2.116; P.C. 9.[5],6
- ΖΙCΕ** *exalt* T.C. 2.56 vid.  
**ΖΕCΤ**= P.C. 2.48  
 qual. **ΖΔCΕ** T.C. 1.4; T.C. 2.96; P.C. 2.76; P.C. 3.11  
 nn. **ΖΙCΕ** *heights* T.C. 6.b-7; P.C. 1.8-9; P.C. 2.23; P.C. 4.13; P.C. 8.31;  
 T.S/C. 1.17
- ΖΙΟΘΕ** *steal* P.C. 6.39 bis
- ΖΟΘΤ-** *twenty-...* T.S/C. 2.10,12,21,26

**Ⲭⲁⲩⲉ** *enemy* P.C. 2.68; P.C. 3.4

pl. **Ⲭⲓⲩⲉⲃ** P.C. 2.33,35

**Ⲅⲉ** *now, then* T.C. 2.66; P.C. 2.27; P.C. 6.38,[48]; T.S/C. 2.31,[154]

**Ⲅⲱⲃⲉ** *leaf* T.C. 4.16

**Ⲅⲱⲗ** *roll* vb. T.S/C. 2.54

**ⲁⲧⲄⲱⲗ** *without returning/turning back* T.S/C. 2.155

**Ⲅⲱⲗⲡ** *reveal* T.C. 2.78 **Ⲅⲁⲗⲡ**= **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** T.S/C. 2.87 vid.

qual. **Ⲅⲁⲗⲡ** T.S/C. 2.33

**Ⲅⲁⲙ** *power* T.C. 2.69; T.C. 7.16

**ⲄⲒⲎ**- verbal prefix see **ⲉⲓ**

**ⲄⲒⲎⲉ** *find* T.C. 2.6,7; P.C. 2.49 vid.

**ⲄⲁⲎⲥ** *violence* : **Ⲭⲓ ⲎⲄⲁⲎⲥ** *iniquity* P.C. 6.6

**ⲄⲱⲎⲧ** *fury* P.C. 6.7

**Ⲅⲣⲟ** *be victorious* : qual. **Ⲅⲣⲁⲓⲧ** T.C. 5.4

nn. **Ⲅⲣⲟ** *victory* T.C. 2.26,52,82,98,123; **Ⲅ(ⲣⲟ)** T.C. 2.160; **ⲧⲄⲣⲟ** P.C. 2.16 vid.

**ⲣⲉϥⲄⲣⲟ** *victor* T.C. 2.89

**Ⲅⲣⲏⲡⲉ** *diadem* T.C. 2.86

**Ⲅⲣⲁⲓⲧ** see **Ⲅⲣⲟ**

**Ⲅⲁⲧ** *size* T.S/C. 2.121 vid.

**Ⲅⲱⲟⲃ** *distress* nn. P.C. 6.7

**Ⲅⲱϣⲧ** *look* vb. T.S/C. 2.92; **Ⲅⲱϣⲧ** T.S/C. 2.118; + **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϧⲏⲧ**=

*look out from* P.C. 7.7 vid.

**Ⲅⲓⲩ** *hand* P.C. 2.35

**Ⲅⲱⲩⲉ** *cut* P.C. 2.53



## Greek loan words in Coptic texts

ἀγαθός *good* ΔΓΑΘΟΣ T.C. 2.137

ΔΓΑΘΟΝ P.C. 6.[11]

ἀγάπη *love* ΔΓΑΠΗ T.C. 2.2,8,133; T.S/C. 1.36

ἄγγελος *angel* ΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ T.C. 2.122

ἀγών *struggle* ΕΓΩΝ P.C. 1.4

ἀήρ *air, atmosphere* ΔΗΡ T.C. 2.129; T.C. 4.18; P.C. 1.24-25; P.C. 2.63; P.C.

## 3.1

αἰών *aeon* ΔΙΩΝ T.C. 1.7,9,14; P.C. 1.14,19,24

ἀλλά *but* ΔΛΛΑ P.C. 6.17,57; P.C. 8.20 vid.; P.C. 9.21

ἄλφα *alpha* ΔΛΦΑ T.C. 7.[42] (?)

ἀνάγκη *need* ΔΝΔΓΚΗ P.C. 2.32

ἀναχωρεῖν *go back* ᾠΔΗΔΧΩΡΙ T.C. 2.25

ἀντί *against* ΔΝΤΙ T.C. 7.8

ἀπόστολος *apostle* : ΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ᾠΠΟCΔΕΙΝΕ *Apostle of Light* T.C.

2.111-112,136

ἀποτάσσειν *renounce* ᾠΔΠΟΤΑCCE T.C. 2.20

ἄρχεσθαι *begin* ᾠΔΡΧΕCΘΑΙ P.C. 8.1

ἀρχή *beginning* ΔΡΧΗ T.C. 2.47

ἀρχιδίκαιος *first righteous one* ΔΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟC T.C. 2.139

ἄρχων *ruler* ΔΡΧΩΝ T.C. 7.21

ἀσπασμός *kiss* ΔCΠΑCΜΟC T.S/C. 2.[37]

βῆμα *bema* ΒΗΜΑ T.C. 4.[7]

βοηθός *helper* ΒΟΗΘΟC P.C. 2.29

γάρ *for* ΓΑΡ P.C. 3.5 vid.; P.C. 6.12,[13,16],18,44,[55]; P.C. 7.9; P.C. 9.[8],10

γνήσιος *race* nn. ΓΝΗCΙΟC T.S/C. 2.137

γυμνάζειν *train* ᾠΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ P.C. 9.[23]

δαίμων *demon* ΔΔΙΜΩΝ T.C. 2.21,31; P.C. 1.5 vid.

δέ *but* ΔΕ P.C. 6.5,6,[10],28 vid.,[47]; P.C. 9.20; T.S/C. 2.25,78; ρΕ P.C. 6.14

δίκαιος *righteous* ΔΙΚΑΙΟC P.C. 6.[16]

δικαίωμα *precept* ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ P.C. 6.49-50

δοκιμάζειν *approve* ᾠΔΟCΙΜΑΖΕ P.C. 6.32 vid.

ἔθνος *Gentile* ρΕΘΝΟC P.C. 6.[18],44-45 vid.

εἰ μὴ τι *except* ΕΙ ΜΗ ΤΙ P.C. 8.13,29 vid.

εἶδωλον *idol* ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ P.C. 6.41

εἰκὼν *image* ρΙΚΩΝ P.C. 2.63 vid.; ρΗΚΩΝ T.C. 2.132,143

with def. art. ΘΗΚΩΝ T.C. 2.93; ΘΙΚΩΝ T.C. 2.120

εἰρήνη *peace* (with fem. def. art. Τ-) ᾠΡΗΝΗ P.C. 6.10 vid.

- ἐκκλησία *church* **ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ** T.C. 4.[27]; T.C. 6.[18]  
 ἐλπίς *hope* nn. in **ΡΥΕΛΠΙΣ** P.C. 4.14  
 ἐντολή *commandment* pl. **ΕΝΤΟΛΑΘΕ** T.C. 2.120  
 ἐπιθυμία *lust* **ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ** T.C. 7.10; P.C. 2.25  
 ἐπίσημος *mark, sign* nn. **ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΣ** T.S/C. 2.142  
 εὐαγγέλιον *gospel* **ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ** P.C. 6.[27]  
 ἤ *or* **Η** P.C. 6.25 vid.  
 ἡδονή *lust* pl. **ῶΗΔΟΝΑΘΕ** T.C. 4.[48]  
 θάλασσα *sea* (with fem. def. art. **Τ-**) **ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ** P.C. 7.22  
 θαρρεῖν *be confident* **ῤΘΑΡΡΕ** P.C. 2.27  
 θηρίον *beast* **ΘΙΡΕΙΟΝ** P.C. 2.45  
 θλίψις *tribulation* **ΘΛΙΨΙΣ** P.C. 6.7  
 καθαρίζειν *cleanse* **ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ** T.C. 2.63  
 καιρός *time* **ΚΑΙΡΟΣ** T.C. 7.18  
 κακία *evil* **ΚΑΚΙΑ** T.S/C. 1.34  
 καλῶς *well* **ΚΑΛΩΣ** T.C. 2.44  
 καρπός *fruit* **ΚΑΡΠΟΣ** T.C. 7.44; P.C. 9.22; T.S/C. 1.45  
 κατὰ *according to, by* **ΚΑΤΑ** P.C. 6.1 vid.,[2,27],45; P.C. 9.18  
 κατακλυσμός *flood* **ΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ** P.C. 2.38  
 κατηγορεῖν *accuse* **ῤΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΙ** P.C. 6.[24-25]  
 κατηχούμενος *catechumen* **ΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ** P.C. 2.71-72 vid.,106 vid.  
 κίνδυνος *danger* **ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ** P.C. 7.14  
 κληρονομία *inheritance* **ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ** T.C. 7.41  
 κοσμεῖν *adorn* **ῤΚΟΣΜΙ** T.S/C. 2.58  
 κόσμος *world* **ΚΟΣΜΟΣ** T.C. 2.[15]; T.C. 4.[43,45,54,56]; T.C. 6.11; T.C. 7.[3-4],8,17; P.C. 2.94 vid.  
 κρίνειν *condemn* **ΚΡΙΝΕ** P.C. 6.53; *judge* **ῤΚΡΙΝΕ** P.C. 6.[26]  
 κριτής *judge* **ΚΡΙΤΗΣ** T.C. 2.124  
 λύπη *grief* **ΛΥΠΗ** P.C. 9.21  
 μαστιγοῦν *scourge* **ῤΜΑΣΤΙΓΥΤΟΥ** P.C. 9.7 vid.  
 μέν *indeed, on the one hand* **ΜΕΝ** P.C. 6.2,[46]  
 μορφή *form* **ΜΟΡΦΗ** P.C. 1.9; P.C. 2.62  
 μυστήριον *mystery* **ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ** T.C. 4.[24]; P.C. 2.30; P.C. 8.11 vid.;  
**ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙ(ΟΝ)** T.C. 2.150  
 νόημα *understanding* **ΝΟΗΜΑ** P.C. 8.19  
 νόμος *law* **ΝΟΜΟΣ** P.C. 6.14,15 bis,16 vid.,[17],19,[19-20],20,21,22 vid.,29,33  
 vid.,37,42,43,46,47,50,[52],54; **ΝΟΜΟΣ`** P.C. 6.13 vid.

νοῦς *mind* **ΝΟΥΣ** T.C. 2.57,129; T.C. 4.12; P.C. 2.[62]

**ΝΟΥΣ** **ΝΟΥΔΕΙΝΕ** *Light Mind* T.C. 2.114 vid.

ὀργή *wrath* **ΟΡΓΗ** P.C. 6.6

ὅταν *when* **ΩΟΤΑΝ** P.C. 6.18

οὐδέ *and not* **ΟΥΔΕ** P.C. 9.5

οὔτε *nor* **ΟΥΤΕ** P.C. 6.56; P.C. 7.14

οὔτε ... οὔτε *neither ... nor* **ΟΥΤΕ ... ΟΥΤΕ** T.C. 6.[8]

οὐχί *emphatic negative* **ΟΥΧΙ** P.C. 6.50

παιδεύειν *chastise* **ΠΠΕΔΕΥΕ** P.C. 9.[7,11]

παραβαίνειν *transgress* **ΠΠΑΡΑΒΑ** P.C. 6.43

παραβάτης *transgressor* **ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ** P.C. 6.47,54

παρακλήτος *paraclete* **ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ** P.C. 2.[104]

παρθένος *virgin* : **Μῆτῆνας** **Μπαρθενος** *Twelve virgins* T.C. 1.13

**ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ** **ΜΠΟΥΔΕΙΝΕ** *Virgin of Light* T.C. 2.115

πείθειν *obey* **ΠΠΙΘΕ** P.C. 6.[6]

πήσσειν *fasten* **ΠΗΣΣΕ** T.S/C. 2.62

πλανᾶσθαι *be led astray* **ΠΠΑΔΗ** T.S/C. 1.3,13

πλάνη *error* **ΠΛΑΝΗ** T.C. 4.[26]

**ΑΤΠΑΔΗ** *without error* T.C. 4.[4-5]

πλάσσειν *form* **ΠΠΑΔΣΣΑ** T.C. 7.7

πνεῦμα *spirit* **Πῆα** T.C. 2.4; T.C. 4.29 vid.; P.C. 9.[16]

**Πῆα** **Ἰτε τμηε** *Spirit of Truth* T.C. 2.116; P.C. 2.[105]

πρεσβευτής *ambassador* **ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ** T.C. 2.77

**ΜΑΩΨΑΜΤ** **ΜΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ** *Third Ambassador* T.C. 1.2; T.C. 2.109-

110,135

πρός *for* **ΠΡΟΣ** T.C. 2.42; P.C. 9.17 vid.,[20]

πύργος *tower* **ΠΥΡΓΟΣ** T.C. 7.48

σάρξ *flesh* **ΣΑΡΞ** P.C. 6.[56]

σκύλλειν *trouble* vb. in **ΡΕΚΩΛΑ** **Ἰρητ** *be vexed* T.S/C. 2.8

σοφία *wisdom* **ΣΟΦΙΑ** T.C. 7.19

σταυρός *cross* **ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ** P.C. 2.[60]; **ΣΡΣ** T.C. 2.19

στοιχείον *element* **ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ** T.C. 7.15,22

στολή *robe* **ΣΤΟΛΗ** T.C. 6.33 vid.

στῦλος *pillar* **ΣΤΥΛΟΣ** T.C. 2.127

συλᾶν *plunder* **ΣΡΣΩΛΑ** T.C. 7.4

συνείδησις *conscience* **ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ** P.C. 6.23 vid.

σφαῖρα *sphere* **ΣΦΑΙΡΑ** P.C. 1.6

σχῆμα *property* **ΣΧΗΜΑ** T.C. 1.3

- σῶμα *body* **σωμα** P.C. 3.2 vid.  
 σωτήρ *saviour* **σωρ** T.C. 6.15  
 τέχνη *art* **τεχνη** T.C. 4.[1]; T.C. 7.12; T.S/C. 1.37b  
 τότε *then* **τοτε** T.S/C. 2.17,42 vid.,46,134  
 τροχός *wheel* **τροχος** T.S/C. 1.11  
 τύπος *archetype* **τυπος** T.S/C. 1.4  
 ὕλη *matter* (with fem. def. art. **τ-**) **θυλη** T.C. 4.51  
 ὑπομονή *patience* (with fem. def. art. **τ-**) **θυπομονη** P.C. 6.2  
 φύσις *nature* **φυσικ** P.C. 2.21; P.C. 6.52; (dative) φύσει *by nature* **φυσει**  
**P.C. 6.19**  
 χαίρειν *greet* : imperative **χαϊρε** *hail!* T.C. 4.7  
 χρῆμα *treasure* **χρημα** T.C. 4.[28]  
 χώρα *land* **χωρα** T.C. 2.138  
 ψυχή *soul* **ψυχη** T.C. 2.45,50,53,76,83; T.C. 4.49; T.C. 6.[10]; P.C. 1.[8];  
**P.C. 2.34; P.C. 3.10; P.C. 6.8; ψυ(χη)** T.C. 2.79  
 pl. **ψυχαοσε** T.C. 2.113; P.C. 2.87; **ψυχαδε** T.C. 7.11  
 ὠμοφόρος *porter* **ωμοφορος** T.C. 7.14

## Greek words

ἀγαθωσύνη	P.G. 91.19
ἀγάλλομαι	P.G. 91.29
ἀγιάζω	P.G. 91.31
ἅγιος	P.G. 91.14; 92.56
ἀθόλωτος	P.G. 92.2
αἰών	P.G. 94.10,11
αἰώνιος	P.G. 93.5
ἄλας	P.G. 91.16
ἀμήν	P.G. 94.12
ἀμήχανος	P.G. 92.53
ἀναβαινω	P.G. 92.19
ἀνακαινίζω	P.G. 91.25
ἄνθρωπος	P.G. 91.6; 93.14
ἀπαράβλητος	P.G. 92.12
ἀπόκρυφος	P.G. 92.45
ἀποστολή	P.G. 91.10
ἄπτωτος	P.G. 92.4



αὐτογένης	<b>P.G. 93.10</b>
αὐτοσύστατος	<b>P.G. 92.48</b>
βλύσις	<b>P.G. 92.14</b>
δαίμων	<b>P.G. 93.16</b>
δικαιόω	<b>P.G. 91.23</b>
δόξα	<b>P.G. 92.53; 94.7</b>
δοξάζω	<b>P.G. 91.1</b>
δύναμις	<b>P.G. 92.13</b>
εἰμί	<b>P.G. 91.21</b>
εἰς	<b>P.G. 94.10</b>
ἐκ	<b>P.G. 92.19</b>
ἐκκλησία	<b>P.G. 91.16</b>
ἐν	<b>P.G. 91.23,25,27,29,31,32</b>
ἐναποκρύπτω	<b>P.G. 92.51</b>
ἐνάρετος	<b>P.G. 92.7,25</b>
ἐνδοξότατος	<b>P.G. 92.51</b>
ἐξαγορεύω	<b>P.G. 92.44</b>
ἐξαρχέτης	<b>P.G. 94.1</b>
ἐρύω	<b>P.G. 91.36</b>
εὐθαλής	<b>P.G. 92.52</b>
εὐλογία	<b>P.G. 94.6</b>
εὐφημία	<b>P.G. 92.39; 94.3</b>
εὐφροσύνη	<b>P.G. 94.4</b>
ζωή	<b>P.S/G. 1.b3,1; P.G. 91.8</b>
ἡμεῖς	<b>P.G. 91.15,21,36</b>
ἡμέτερος	<b>P.G. 94.2</b>
ἡμῖν	<b>P.G. 91.36</b>
ἥρεμος	<b>P.G. 92.19</b>
θαμά	<b>P.G. 92.44</b>
ιδέα	<b>P.G. 92.12</b>
ἴστημι	<b>P.G. 92.54</b>
ἰσχύς	<b>P.G. 92.49</b>
καί	<b>P.S/G. 1.b3,1; P.G. 92.3 etc</b>
κάλλος	<b>P.G. 92.54</b>
καταξιόω	<b>P.G. 91.20</b>
κατάστασις	<b>P.G. 92.2</b>
κυβερνήτης	<b>P.G. 91.18</b>
λόγος	<b>P.G. 91.4</b>
μεγαλειότης	<b>P.G. 94.9</b>

μεγὰς	P.G. 92.50
μέτρον	P.G. 92.8
μήτηρ	P.G. 91.7
νήφω	P.G. 91.33
νοερός	P.G. 91.5
ὄνομα	P.G. 94.8
ὀρκίζω	P.G. 93.25
πάς	P.G. 92.5,7,14,17,18
πατήρ	P.G. 91.5; 92.2,5,10,35,45,48
περ	P.G. 94.7
περιουσία	P.G. 92.49
πιστός	P.G. 91.22
πλούτος	P.G. 92.8,18
πνεῦμα	P.G. 91.14; 92.18
πολυύμνητος	P.G. 92.1,4,9,11,47
πρός + acc.	P.G. 91.34
προσεύχομαι	P.G. 92.43
πρῶτος	P.G. 91.9
πρωτότοκος	P.G. 91.2
πυθμῆν	P.G. 92.6
σθένος	P.G. 92.40
σός	P.G. 94.7
σπεύδω	P.G. 91.35
στερρότης	P.G. 92.3
στέψις	P.S/G. 1.b3,1
σύ	P.G. 91.2,22,23,25,27,29,31,33,34; 92.1,4,9,19,42,43,44,47
συνίστημι	P.G. 92.27
σύστασις	P.G. 92.46
σύστημα	P.G. 92.11
σῶμα	P.G. 92.15
τέλειος	P.G. 94.5
τελειόω	P.G. 91.27
τιμάω	P.G. 92.43
τιμητός	P.G. 94.8
ύμνέω	P.G. 92.1,4,9,42,47
ὑψιστος	P.G. 92.55
φέγγος	P.G. 91.11
φῶς	P.G. 92.6,46,50
φωστήρ	P.G. 91.12

ώρα	<b>P.G. 94.4</b>
ἀγαπ[	<b>P.G. 92.29</b>
ἀγαπ . [	<b>P.G. 92.40</b>
ἀρσενι[κός?]	<b>P.G. 93.12</b>
ἀσξ[	<b>P.G. 92.30</b>
αὐτ . . . . .	<b>P.G. 92.21</b>
εισ- / εἰς	<b>P.G. 93.2</b>
ἐνθυμ . . εστῆς	<b>P.G. 92.23</b>
ἐσπερ-	<b>P.G. 92.22</b>
εὐφ .-	<b>P.G. 92.42</b>
κατα[	<b>P.G. 92.28</b>
καλου	<b>P.G. 92.27</b>
κει-	<b>P.G. 93.1</b>
παλιν / πάλιν-	<b>P.G. 93.11</b>
π[α]ραβεισ . .	<b>P.G. 92.56</b>
περιει	<b>P.G. 92.24</b>
σός / σω-	<b>P.G. 93.9</b>
[συ]μφωνω	<b>P.G. 92.24</b>
τετη-	<b>P.G. 93.4</b>
τοῖος / -τοιον	<b>P.G. 93.26</b>
φρονη-	<b>P.G. 92.20</b>
-γεννημα	<b>P.G. 93.3</b>
-δρων	<b>P.G. 93.15</b>
[ . . ]ορηγας	<b>P.G. 92.22</b>
-σαρκος	<b>P.G. 93.6</b>
. . . υλογω	<b>P.G. 92.26</b>
-ῆφους	<b>P.G. 93.2</b>
-ῆφθεις	<b>P.G. 93.1</b>

## Latin words

velum

veil **ΟΨΗΛΟΝ****T.S/C. 2.55**

## Syriac words

ܪܘܟ	<i>father</i>	T.S/C. 2.138
ܘܚܟ	<i>perish, be lost</i>	T.S/C. 1.12
ܡܫܟ	<i>shine</i>	T.S/C. 2.158
ܪܫܝܘܬܐܢܟ	<i>art, craft</i>	T.S/C. 1.37a
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>brotherhood</i>	T.S/C. 2.140
ܪܘܟ	<i>hand</i>	T.S/C. 2.122
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>so that</i>	T.S/C. 2.127
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>ship</i>	T.S/C. 2.24,45,68
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>say</i>	T.S/C. 2.134
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>if</i>	P.S. 1.i2
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>force, press</i>	T.S/C. 1.42
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>bind, fasten</i>	T.S/C. 2.44
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>face</i>	T.S/C. 2.32
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>you</i>	P.S. 1.i2
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>scatter</i>	P.S/G. 1.a2,6
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>by means of</i>	T.S/C. 2.41
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>bynwt</i>	P.S. 1.ii4
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>evil</i>	T.S/C. 1.34; T.S/C. 2.153
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>house</i>	T.S/C. 2.119
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>be sweet,</i>	
	<i>refresh oneself (Ethpa.)</i>	T.S/C. 1.26; T.S/C. 2.158
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>petition</i>	T.S/C. 2.94
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>son</i>	T.S/C. 2.127
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>blessing</i>	T.S/C. 1.18
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>daughter</i>	P.S. 1.i2
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>strengthen</i>	T.S/C. 1.21; T.S/C. 2.110
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>colour</i>	T.S/C. 1.6
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>shut, fasten</i>	T.S/C. 2.62
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>wheel</i>	T.S/C. 1.11
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>uncover, reveal</i>	T.S/C. 2.32
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>perfect, cease</i>	T.S/C. 1.30,46
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>sigh</i>	T.S/C. 1.8
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>brightness, rising</i>	T.S/C. 2.90
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>purity, holiness</i>	T.S/C. 2.129
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>resembling</i>	P.S. 1.ii10
ܪܫܝܘܬܟ	<i>to be</i>	T.S/C. 2.14,81
ܘܚܟܐܢܟ	<i>at that time</i>	T.S/C. 2.40,45,134



מִנְבִּלְתָּא	<i>faith</i>	T.S/C. 1.32; T.S/C. 2.98
מִכֵּן	<i>thus</i>	T.S/C. 2.39
מִפְּנֵי	<i>turn</i>	T.S/C. 1.5
וּחַד	<i>move, put in motion</i>	T.S/C. 1.43
וּבָז	<i>closed in, hemmed in (Ethpe.)</i>	T.S/C. 2.150
עֵבֶד	<i>love vehemently</i>	T.S/C. 1.40
עִבֵּד	<i>destroy</i>	T.S/C. 1.1
עִבְדָּא	<i>contain, besiege, imprison</i>	T.S/C. 2.160
עִבְדָּא	<i>rejoice, be glad</i>	T.S/C. 1.27
עִבְדָּא	<i>other</i>	T.S/C. 2.30
עִבְדָּא	<i>joyful</i>	T.S/C. 2.141
עִבְדָּא	<i>go round, encompass</i>	T.S/C. 1.10
עִבְדָּא	<i>manifest, show</i>	T.S/C. 2.86,90
עִבְדָּא	<i>love</i>	T.S/C. 1.36
עִבְדָּא	<i>pity</i>	P.S/G. 1.a2,2
עִבְדָּא	<i>see</i>	T.S/C. 2.67
עִבְדָּא	<i>appearance, form</i>	T.S/C. 2.107
עִבְדָּא	<i>appearance</i>	T.S/C. 2.117
עִבְדָּא	<i>exchange, pierce</i>	T.S/C. 2.115
עִבְדָּא	<i>good</i>	T.S/C. 2.135
עִבְדָּא	<i>get ready, prepare</i>	T.S/C. 2.64
עִבְדָּא	<i>voyage</i>	T.S/C. 2.143
עִבְדָּא	<i>type, figure</i>	T.S/C. 1.4
עִבְדָּא	<i>moment</i>	P.S. 1.iii2
עִבְדָּא	<i>wander, err</i>	T.S/C. 1.3,13
עִבְדָּא	<i>sign</i>	T.S/C. 2.142
עִבְדָּא	<i>know</i>	T.S/C. 2.36
עִבְדָּא	<i>give</i>	T.S/C. 2.85
עִבְדָּא	<i>birth</i>	T.S/C. 2.141
עִבְדָּא	<i>month</i>	T.S/C. 2.20
עִבְדָּא	<i>increase, abound</i>	T.S/C. 2.68
עִבְדָּא	<i>when</i>	T.S/C. 2.31,36,158
עִבְדָּא	<i>measure</i>	T.S/C. 1.47
עִבְדָּא	<i>how many</i>	P.S/G. 1.b3,1
עִבְדָּא	<i>name</i>	P.S/G. 1.a2,7
עִבְדָּא	<i>encircle, gird</i>	T.S/C. 2.101
עִבְדָּא	<i>not</i>	T.S/C. 2.119,155
עִבְדָּא	<i>garment</i>	T.S/C. 1.44; T.S/C. 2.135

ܠܒܫܐ	<i>clothe oneself, put on</i>	T.S/C. 1.16,101
ܠܘܠܐ	<i>be worthy, convenient</i>	T.S/C. 1.38
ܟܘܠܗܘܢܐ	<i>gift</i>	T.S/C. 2.40
ܟܘܠܠܐ (ܠܐ)	<i>bringing forth, birth</i>	T.S/C. 2.14
ܟܘܠܗܘܢܐ	<i>death</i>	T.S/C. 2.113
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>come, arrive at</i>	T.S/C. 2.23
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>water</i>	T.S/C. 2.41
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>fill</i>	T.S/C. 2.76,77,80
ܟܘܠܠܐ	<i>word</i>	P.S. 1.ii5
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>from</i>	T.S/C. 2.122; P.S/G. 1.a2,2
ܟܘܠܠܐ	<i>rot, decay, melt</i>	T.S/C. 2.125
ܟܘܠܠܐ (ܠܐ)	<i>coming, return, beginning</i>	T.S/C. 2.1,31
ܟܘܠܠܐ	<i>defiled</i>	T.S/C. 2.132
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>Lord</i>	T.S/C. 2.40
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>measure, anoint</i>	T.S/C. 1.24; T.S/C. 2.116
ܟܘܠܠܐܘܢܐ	<i>stretch</i>	T.S/C. 1.29
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>shine</i>	T.S/C. 2.24,73
ܟܘܠܠܐ	<i>light</i>	T.S/C. 2.68,142,143
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>rest / be at rest, refresh oneself /</i>	
	<i>be at rest (Ethpe.)</i>	T.S/C. 2.130,145,148,149
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>sprout, shoot, bud</i>	T.S/C. 2.159
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>omen</i>	P.S. 1.i1
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>go down</i>	T.S/C. 2.136
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>weigh heavy</i>	T.S/C. 2.79
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>keep</i>	P.S. 1.ii3
ܟܘܠܠܐܘܢܐ	<i>serenity</i>	T.S/C. 2.38
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>pour out</i>	T.S/C. 2.63
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>send forth (Aph.)</i>	T.S/C. 2.60
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>plant, fix</i>	T.S/C. 2.156
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>be victorious (Ethpa.)</i>	T.S/C. 1.22
ܟܘܠܠܐܘܢܐ	<i>abundance</i>	T.S/C. 2.90
ܟܘܠܠܐܘܢܐ	<i>great, much, many</i>	T.S/C. 2.140
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>long for, earnestly desire</i>	T.S/C. 2.131
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>be planted (Ethpe.)</i>	T.S/C. 2.147
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>breathe</i>	T.S/C. 2.109
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>await, expect</i>	T.S/C. 2.118
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>shut</i>	T.S/C. 2.152
ܟܘܠܐ	<i>ascend</i>	T.S/C. 1.7

סכח	<i>end, extreme, total</i>	T.S/C. 2.36
סחף	<i>swallow, absorb</i>	T.S/C. 1.2
סכח	<i>make, form</i>	T.S/C. 2.65
סכחם	<i>deep, depths</i>	T.S/C. 1.9
סחף	<i>return, turn back</i>	T.S/C. 2.155
סח	<i>upon</i>	T.S/C. 2.129
סח	<i>enter, bring (Aph.)</i>	T.S/C. 2.31,38,44,61,66,144,154
סח	<i>lift, raise, exalt</i>	T.S/C. 2.59,93
סחח	<i>entrance, commencement</i>	T.S/C. 2.39
סחח	<i>twenty</i>	T.S/C. 2.11,13,20,23
(cf. also סחח סחח סחח)		
סח	<i>double, multiply</i>	T.S/C. 2.57
סח	<i>constrain, compel, resist</i>	T.S/C. 1.39
סח	<i>be prepared, make ready</i>	T.S/C. 2.83
סחח	<i>bodily</i>	P.S. 1.ii9
סח	<i>miss</i>	T.S/C. 1.45
סח	<i>save</i>	T.S/C. 2.97
סח	<i>early evening</i>	T.S/C. 2.46
סח	<i>escape (Ethpa.)</i>	T.S/C. 1.28
סח	<i>exult</i>	T.S/C. 2.133
סחח	<i>presence</i>	T.S/C. 2.138
סח	<i>separate, divide</i>	T.S/C. 2.45,52
סחח	<i>interpreter</i>	T.S/C. 2.119
סח	<i>open</i>	T.S/C. 2.53
סח	<i>adorn</i>	T.S/C. 2.58
סח	<i>purify, strain</i>	T.S/C. 2.124
סח	<i>receive</i>	T.S/C. 2.30
סחח	<i>first</i>	P.S. 1.i3
סחח	<i>rise, stand firm, establish</i>	T.S/C. 1.31; P.S/G. 1.a2,1
סח	<i>call</i>	T.S/C. 2.35
סח	<i>increase</i>	T.S/C. 2.112
סחח	<i>greatly</i>	T.S/C. 2.24
סחח	<i>greatness</i>	T.S/C. 2.122
סחח	<i>rejoice greatly, exult</i>	T.S/C. 2.157
סחח	<i>be relieved (Ethpa.)</i>	T.S/C. 1.20
סחח	<i>spirit</i>	T.S/C. 2.102,150; P.S/G. 1.a2,1
סחח	<i>be exalted, lifted up</i>	T.S/C. 2.100
סחח	<i>heights</i>	T.S/C. 1.17,29

ܟܘܡܝ	mercy	P.S/G. 1.a2,2
ܟܘܝ	perfume	T.S/C. 1.25
ܟܝܘܢܥ	beauty	T.S/C. 1.19
ܟܥ	great honour	P.S. 1.iii5
ܥܠܥ	send	T.S/C. 2.123
ܝܘܥ	pleasing	T.S/C. 2.107
ܠܥ	raise, lift (Pa.)	T.S/C. 2.54
ܟܕܘܝܥ	kindred	T.S/C. 1.35; T.S/C. 2.127
ܝܝܥ	strengthen	T.S/C. 2.111
ܟܕܥ	drink	T.S/C. 2.114
ܘܦܕܐ	return	T.S/C. 1.41
ܠܦܕܐ	trust	T.S/C. 1.23
ܟܘܡܘܢܐ ܟܘܡܐܕܐ	twenty-eight	T.S/C. 2.22
ܦܕܐ	construct (Pa.)	T.S/C. 2.56

## Proper names

ܐܕܐܡ Adam T.C. 7.[7?]

ܝܗܥܘܫܥ Jesus : ܝܗܥ T.C. 2.1 vid.,34

ܝܗܥܘܫܥ ܦܫܪܝܫܘܥ Jesus Christ T.C. 7.[45]; ܝܗܥ ܦܫܥ P.C. 6.[27]

ܝܗܥ ܦܦܪܝܥ Jesus the Splendour T.C. 2.111

ܝܘܫܐܘܝܐ Jew P.C. 6.[9],11,[55]; ܝܘܫܐܘܝܐ P.C. 6.54-55 vid.;

ܝܘܫܐܘܝܐ P.C. 6.[57-58]; ܝܘܫܐܘܝܐ P.C. 6.28 vid.; ܝܘܫܐܘܝܐ P.C.

6.57

ܡܢܝܫܝܘܫ Manichaios T.C. 2.117; T.C. 7.[40]; P.C. 2.70 vid.; ܡܢܫܝܘܫ

P.C. 2.[104]

ܦܐܘܠ Paul T.C. 2.36

ܘܫܐܘܝܐܝܢ Greek P.C. 6.9; ܘܫܐܘܝܐܝܢ P.C. 6.11-12 vid.

ܫܪܝܫܘܥ Christ : ܫܥ T.C. 2.27,35,(40),48,51; see ܝܗܥ



## Manichaean terms

*Aeon(s)* ΔΙΩΝ T.C. 1.7,9,14; P.C. 1.14,19

*Aeons of immortality* ΔΙΩΝ Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΔΤΜΟϺ P.C. 1.[24]

*Aeons of light* ΔΙΩΝ ... ΝΤΕ ΠΟϺΔΕΙΝΕ P.C. 1.19-20

*Twelve aeons of the Father* Μ̄Ν̄ΤCΗΔϺC Ν̄ΔΙΩΝ Μ̄Π̄ΙΩΤ T.C. 1.14

*Ambassador* see *Third Ambassador*

*Angel* see *Three angels*

*Apostle of light* ΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC Μ̄ΠΟϺΔΕΙΝΕ T.C. 2.111-112,136

*Beloved of the lights* ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν̄ΝΟϺΔΕΙΝΕ T.C. 2.139-140

*Counterpart, Twin* CΔΕΙΨ T.C. 2.120-121; CΔ̄Ψ T.C. 7.20

*Elements* CΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ T.C. 7.15,22

*Father* ἸΩΤ T.C. 1.1,3,5,6,11,14; T.C. 2.28,131; P.G. 92 passim

*Father of lights* ΙΩΤ Ν̄ΝΟϺΔΕΙΝΕ T.C. 2.142; see P.G. 92 passim

*Father who is king over his aeons* ἸΩΤ` ΕΤΟ Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΟ ΔΔ̄Ν ΝΕϺΔΙΩΝ  
T.C. 1.6-7

*Perfect Father of the light* ΙΩΤ ΕΤΔΗΚ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΟϺΔΙΝΕ T.C. 7.19-20

*Fathers of light* ἸΔΤΕ Μ̄ΠΟϺΔ̄ΙΝΕ T.C. 4.4

*First Man* ΨΔΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ T.C. 2.131-132; P.C. 1.2-3; ΨΔΡΠ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ  
P.C. 1.17; P.C. 2.65-66

*first-born* ΨΔΜΙCΕ P.C. 1.17

*First righteous one* ΔΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟC T.C. 2.139

*Five properties of the Father* †ΟϺ CΧΗΜΔ Μ̄Π̄ΙΩΤ T.C. 1.3

*Holy spirit* τὸ ἅγιον π̄νᾶ P.G. 91.13-14

*Jesus the Splendour* ῙΗC Π̄Π̄ΡΕΙΕ T.C. 2.111

*Judge* ΚΡΙΤΗC T.C. 2.124

ΡΕϺ†ϺΕΠ T.C. 4.[3]

*Light Mind* ΝΟϺC Ν̄ΝΟϺΔΕΙΝΕ T.C. 2.114 vid.

*Living atmosphere* ΔΗΡ ΕΤΔΗϺ T.C. 2.129-130

*Matter* with fem. def. art. (Τ-) ΘϺΛΗ T.C. 4.51; P.C. 2.55 vid.

*Mind* see *Light Mind* and νοῦC

*Moon* ΟϺ P.C. 8.26 vid.; T.C. 7.48

*Mother of life* ΜΕϺ Μ̄ΠΩCϺ (sic) P.C. 1.18; τὴν μήτερα τῆC ζωῆC P.G.  
91.7-9

*Paraclete* ΠΔΡΔΚΛΗΤΟC P.C. 2.[104]

*Perfect Father of the light* see *Father*

*Perfect Man* ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΔΗΚ ΕΒΔΛ T.C. 2.128; ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΔΗΚ T.C.  
7.26

*Pillar* CΤϺΛΟC T.C. 2.127

*Porter* ωμοφορος T.C. 7.14

*Rulers* αρχων T.C. 7.21

*Ship of living fire* ζδει ν̄τ̄ε̄τε̄ ε̄ταν̄ζ T.C. 2.134

*Ship of living water* ζδει μ̄π̄μᾱο̄θ̄ ε̄ταν̄ζ T.C. 2.130-131

*Spirit* see *Holy spirit*, *Spirit of truth* and πνεύμα

*Spirit of truth* π̄ν̄ᾱ ν̄τε̄ τ̄μη̄ε̄ T.C. 2.116; P.C. 2.[105]

*Sun* ρη T.C. 7.48

*Third Ambassador* μαζψαμτ μ̄π̄ρε̄ς̄βε̄σ̄της̄ T.C. 1.2; T.C. 2.109-110,135

*Three angels* ψαμτ ν̄ᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς̄ T.C. 2.121-122

*Throne* θ̄η̄μᾱ T.C. 4.[7]

*Twelve aeons of the Father* see *Aeon(s)*

*Twelve virgins* see *Virgin*

*Twin* see *Counterpart*

*Virgin*

*Virgin of Light* παρθενος μ̄πο̄σ̄δεῑνε̄ T.C. 2.115

*Twelve virgins* μ̄ν̄τ̄ε̄νη̄σ̄ς̄ μ̄πᾱρ̄θε̄νος̄ T.C. 1.12-13

INVENTORY NUMBERS<sup>465</sup>

A/2/88 >	<b>P.C. 8</b>
A/3/19 >	<b>P.G. 91</b>
A/5/6 >	<b>T.C. 4</b>
A/5/26 >	<b>P.S/G. 1</b>
A/5/53A >	<b>T.C. 3</b>
A/5/53B >	<b>T.C. 2</b>
A/5/92 >	<b>P.G. 94</b>
A/5/107 >	<b>T.C. 5</b>
A/5/195 >	<b>T.C. 6</b>
A/5/196 >	<b>T.S/C. 2</b>
A/5/239 >	<b>T.S/C. 1</b>
A/5/346 >	<b>T.C. 1</b>
A/6/14 >	<b>T.C. 7</b>
P 4A >	<b>P.C. 7</b>
(P 10) >	P 11
P 11 >	<b>P.S. 1</b>
P 27B >	<b>P.C. 5</b>
(P 34) >	P 82Bi
(P 37) >	P 82A
(P 38) >	P 82Bi
(P 40) >	P 82Bi
(P 50) >	P 82A
P 56J >	<b>P.G. 92</b>
(P 64B) >	P 82A
P 75A >	<b>P.C. 6</b>
(P 77B) >	P 82A
P 82A >	<b>P.C. 1</b>
(P 82A/B) >	P 82C
(P 82B) >	P 82Bii
P 82Bi >	<b>P.C. 2</b>
P 82Bii >	<b>P.C. 2</b>
P 82C >	<b>P.C. 4</b>

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<sup>465</sup> Where an inv # has been placed in brackets it means that a fragment from that glass has been assigned to another number. There may be other fragments from the same glass, and these could be assigned elsewhere. If no bracket is given, then the entire inv # is intended (n.b. fragments may also have been removed previously).

(P 85A/D) >	P 75A
(P 85D/F) >	P 82Bii
(P 85D/E/F) >	P 85Fi
P 85Fi <sup>466</sup> >	<b>P.C. 9</b>
(P 92.13) >	<b>P.G. 93</b>
(P 92.15) >	P 82A
(P 92.15a) >	P 11
(P 92.16) >	P 82A
P 92.17a >	<b>P.C. 3</b>
(P 93B) >	P 82Bi
(P 93B) >	P 85Fi

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<sup>466</sup> It is of some interest to note that fragments from the single deposit now glassed in the P 85 series (and see also P 93B) have gone to **P.C. 2** (Manichaean psalms), to **P.C. 6** (Romans ch. 2), and to **P.C. 9** (Hebrews ch. 12).

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ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA  
to K.A. Worp, *Greek papyri from Kellis: I*

The editors of the Kellis papyri gladly use the opportunity for listing here a number of addenda and corrigenda to Worp 1995. We are grateful to R.S. Bagnall, P. van Minnen and P.J. Sijpesteijn for several contributions to this list.

- p. 13, note to ll. 2-3, end: 'τ]οῦ κτλ.' > 'τοῦ ἡ]γουμένου'.
- p. 14, 4th line from the top: 'no simply' > 'simply no'.
- p. 15, Greek text ll. 8,9,11: γραμμάτα > γράμματα; l. 13, χρήματων > χρημάτων.
- p. 16, note to l. 1: Τιθέριω > Τιθερίω.
- p. 17, note to l. 10-11: γραμμάτα > γράμματα.
- p. 20, note to l. 2, 2nd line: delete the first 'some'.
- p. 24, Greek text l. 12: 'Πμ(οῦν) Τεκαλε' > 'Πμεσκαμ' (R.S. Bagnall).
- p. 51, family tree, sub 'Tekysis': '42' > '42'.
- p. 52, l. 13: read 'col-'.
- p. 58, Greek text, l. 9: The following reading seems more likely: ]κριν (ending of a female personal name like, e.g., Τεῦκρις) οὔσαν πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς | [έτος έτῶν *n*, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. πρὸς 2.b (P.J. Sijpesteijn).  
l. 16: for the phrasing 'Old Ptolemaic silver coinage' see E. Christiansen, 'On denarii and other coin-terms in the papyri', *ZPE* 54 (1984) 271ff., esp. p. 292ff.
- p. 81, note to l. 2: read [Λικιννίου Σε]βαστοῦ .
- p. 89, mid: for the village Συνορίας κώμη, cf. J. Gascou - K.A. Worp, 'The Panopolitan village ΣΥΝΟΡΙΑ', *ZPE* 112 (1996) 163-164.
- p. 90, note to l. 7: read λεγομένω[ν.
- p. 93, mid: '29.2n' . > '27.2n.'
- p. 96, Greek text, ll. 9-10: read ' ἐπί τῷ με | [ἀποδώσειν σοι ὑπέ]ρ'; l. 13: read 'ἀποκαταστη[σειν]'; l. 15: read 'έλαβον ὀπό[ταν βούλη]' (R.S. Bagnall).
- p. 101, Greek text, l. 2: accentuate ἀπό.
- p. 115, top: 'Darm-stadt' > 'Darmstadt'.
- p. 118, at SB XIV 11385: '11 1/3 Tal.' > '= 11 2/3 Tal.'
- p. 119, mid: '942' > '42'.
- p. 133, Greek text, ll. 4-5: Is there a connection between the father of Αὐρήλιος Σύρος, i.e. Ψάις [Σ]ύρω (1. [Σ]ύρου) mentioned here in a document from 386 c.e. and the τέκτων Αὐρήλιος Ψάις Ψύρου in 33.1 (from 369 c.e.)? If so, restore in 45.5 [Ψ]ύρω (1. [Ψ]ύρου), to be regarded as a papponymic (the { } printed in the text should then be cancelled). For the name Ψύρος cf. 66.1n.



- p. 137, Greek text, l. 5: 'ἐμοῦ' > 'ἐμοῖ' (idem p. 138, l. 5n.).
- p. 152, note to l. 11, penultimate line: read 'Are we dealing with' etc.
- p. 155, Greek text ll. 5-6, 8-9: perhaps supply in both cases κτήσ] | εως and separate in l. 6 εἰς from τοῖ (P.J. Sijpesteijn).  
6th line from bottom: 'espenses' > 'expenses'.
- p. 159, l. 5: 'feel' > 'fail'.
- p. 161, introd., 2nd line: read 'name [ll. 3,7]'; l. 7, read 'Psenapollus'.
- p. 162, note to l. 3, 2nd line: read 'cf. l. 7 for another (name of a) grandfather';  
3rd line, read 'seem'.  
Greek text of # 61, l. 5: μ(ετρητηῆς) > μ(άτιον) (R.S. Bagnall); l. 8, Καταῖ( ) > Καταῖ; l. 8, Παταῖ > Ταταῖ (2nd alpha from iota); l. 11, Μαρί | α > Μάρθα, μ(όδιοι) > μ(άτια) (R.S. Bagnall); l. 12' Ἰσι[δώρα] > Ἰσιδ(ώρα).
- p. 167, note to l. 2: 'of' > 'or'.
- p. 175, note to ll. 20-21: 'σὺ' > 'σύ'.
- p. 179, note to l. 21: for the rendering of the adjective συνακτικός P. van Minnen rightly refers to Lampe, s.v.; an ἀναγνώστης συνακτικός is a 'reader in the church'.
- p. 188, l. 26n.: read 'nel' for 'nell'.
- p. 195, l. 23n.: read '61.1n.' for '62.1n.'
- p. 217, fn. 29 runs: This is made certain by the preceding φοροῦσαν τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην. In the magical papyri the word τελετή is frequently used of magical rites; and in PGM IV 2205, V 159 and XIII 889 it refers to rites that to a large extent consist of writing out a spell. Hence, the limited sense of 'written spell' or 'amulet' could easily develop. For a semantic study of the word τελετή, including the meaning 'magical rite' but not of 'amulet', see H. Bolkestein, 'Theophrastos' Character der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde', *RVV XXI.2* (1929) 52 - 58.  
For the φοροῦσαν-formula cf. also A. v.d. Hoek, D. Feissel and J.J. Herrmann, 'Lucky wearers. A ring in Boston and a Greek epigraphic tradition of late Roman and Byzantine times', *Journal of the museum of fine arts* (Boston) 6 (1994) 41 - 62; esp. pp. 59ff. (magical amulets).
- p. 218, fn. 30 runs: see G.W.H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.; and E. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, s.v.  
fn. 31 runs: See *Oxford English Dictionary XVII* (1989<sup>2</sup>), p. 583, s.v. talisman<sup>2</sup>.
- p. 220, fn. 32 runs: The second drill-hole damaged ολ at the end of l. 8; the third drill-hole damaged ημ at the end of l. 20.

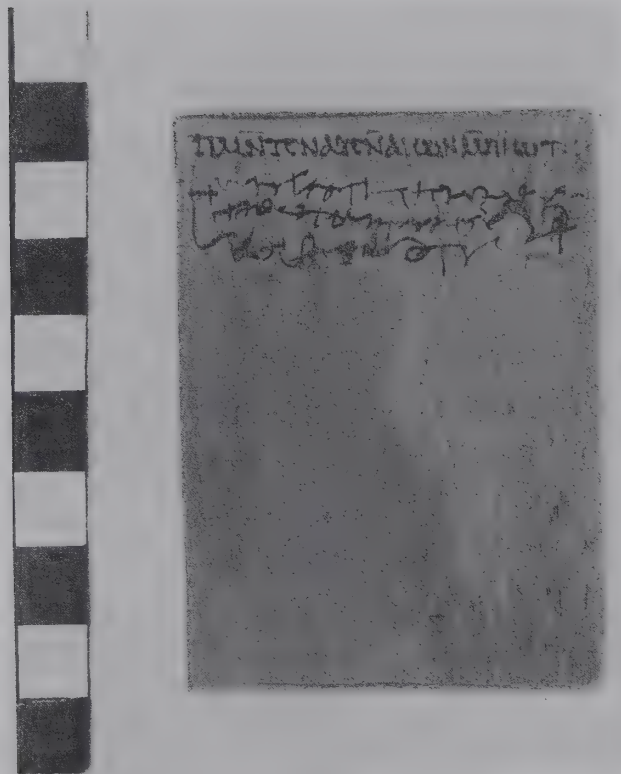
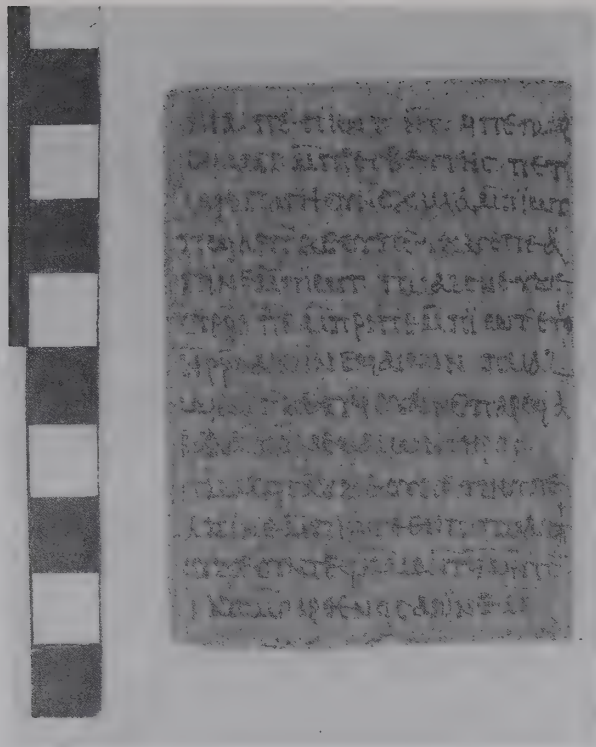


- fn. 33 runs: See R. Pintaudi - P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni* (Firenze 1989 = Pap. Flor. XVIII), no. 81 intr.; also RAC 3, coll. 1138-49 s.v. Diptychon (O. Stegmüller).
- p. 221, fn. 34 runs: On this device in pagan and Christian prayer, see F. Heiler, *Das Gebet. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und religionspsychologische Untersuchung*, München 1923: 82 - 83, 373.
- p. 236, Μαρθ[ ]α > Μάρθα .
- p. 238, substitute Πάται by Τάται.
- p. 244, section (VI).b: substitute Πμεσκαμ for Πμ(οὖν) Τεκαλε; for Τπακε κώμη add 'cf. 35.3n.'
- p. 248, cancel the lemmata μ(ετρητηής) and μόδιος, add the references to the lemma μάτιον.
- p. 265, s.v. κύημα, read '63.15-16'.

KAW

- pp. 182f, it is most improbable that the reference to a διδάσκαλος at 69.18 is related to this title in the Manichaean church.

IG



1. T. KELL. COPT. 1

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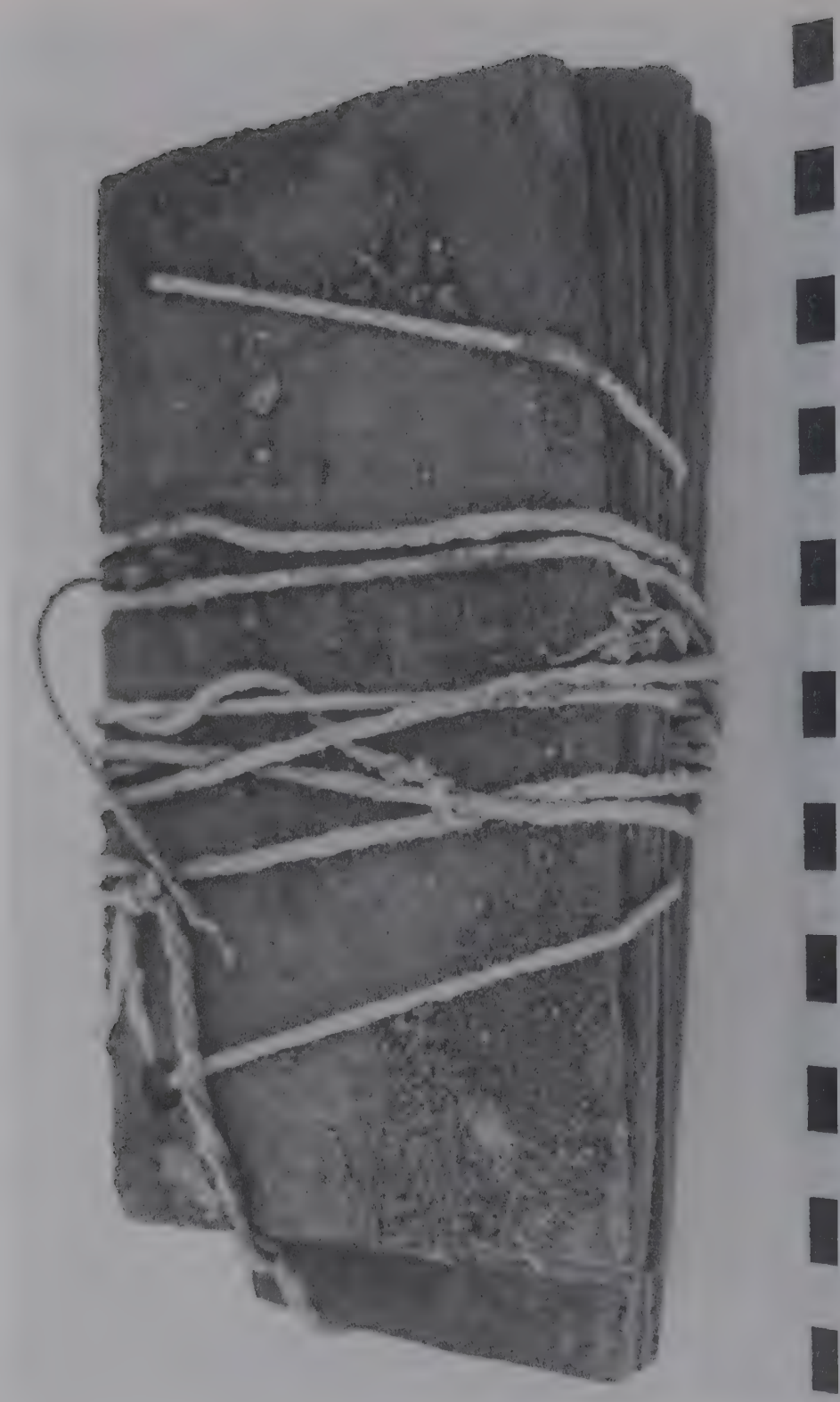
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3. T. KELL. COPT. 3





Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in an ancient script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though some are partially obscured or faded. The script appears to be a form of Coptic or Greek.

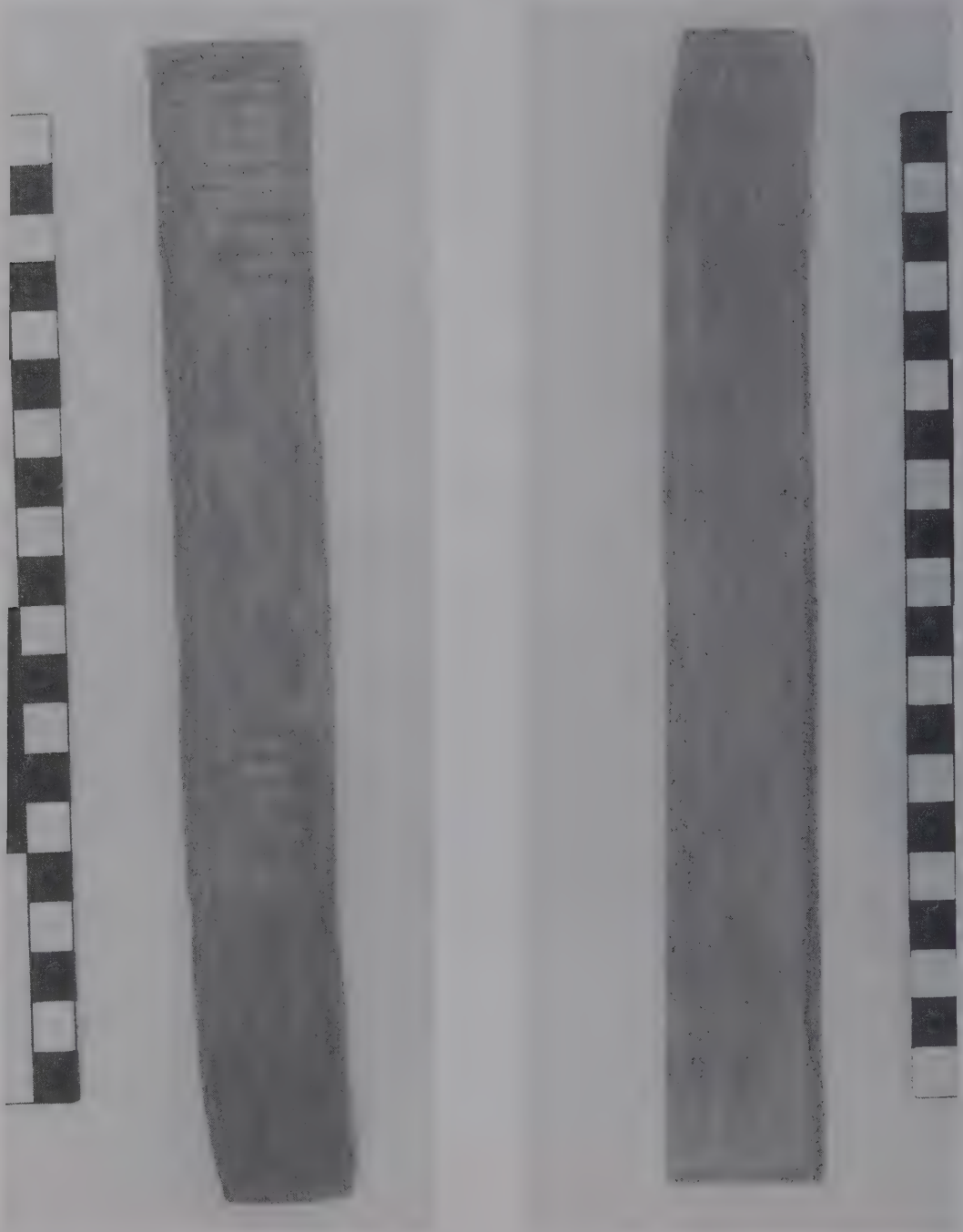


Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in an ancient script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though some are partially obscured or faded. The script appears to be a form of Coptic or Greek.

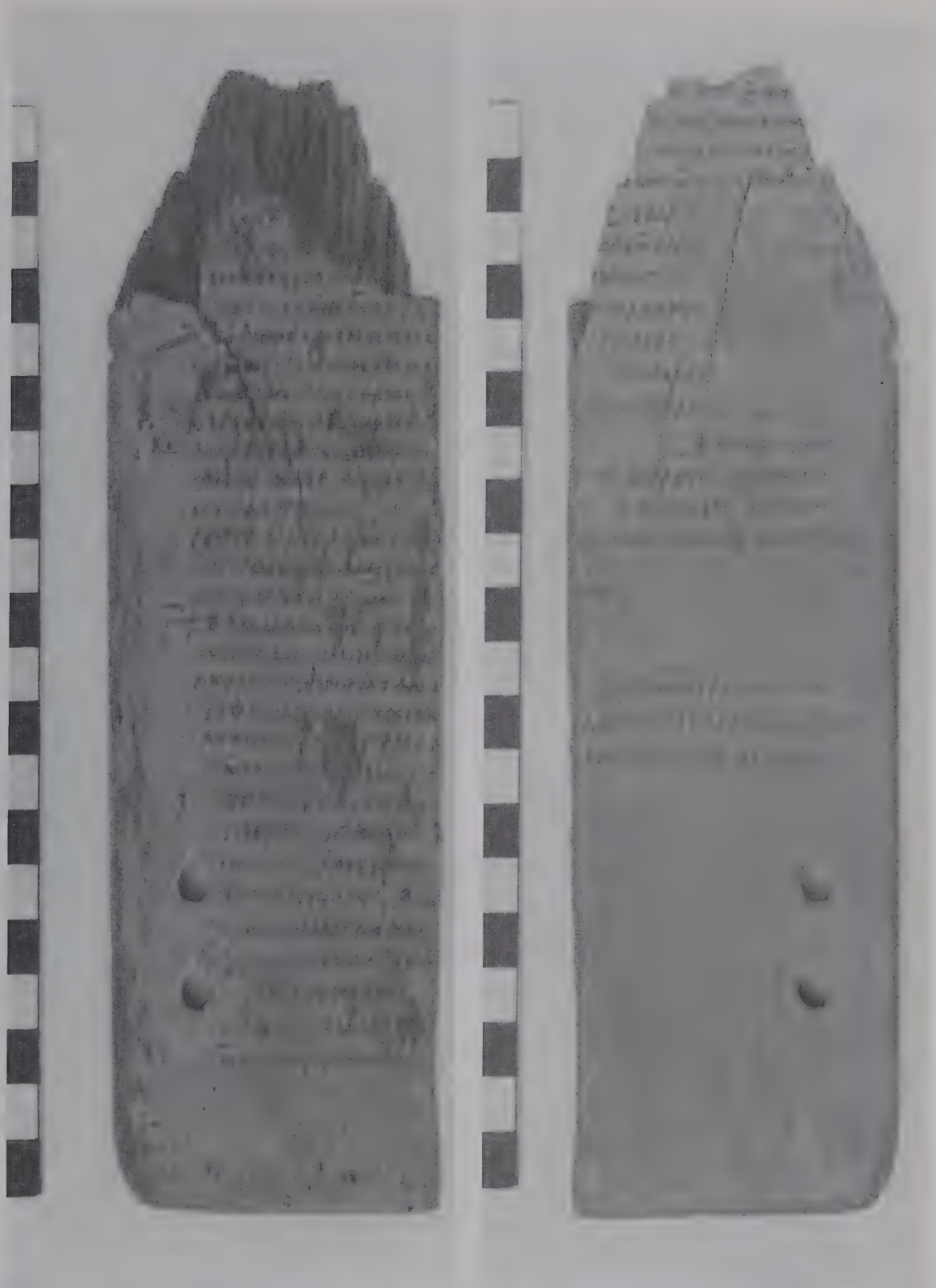
4. T. KELL. COPT. 4



5. T. KELL. COPT. 5



6. T. KELL. COPT. 6



7. T. KELL. COPT. 7



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ΕΑΥΤΗΡΑ ΜΕΚΑΝΗ ΕΚΕΟΥΤ ΧΑ  
 ΡΟΥΑΜΙ ΕΣΣΙΑΡΗ ΠΡΟΝΟΣΤΑΘΗΝ  
 ΤΑΥΘΙΑ ΒΑΛΑΙΤ ΜΕΤ' ΑΠΟΙΣ ΚΑΠ  
 ΣΑΧΙΕΝ. ΑΝΩΠΙΤΗ ΠΟΥΡΤΕ ΠΟΙ  
 ΛΕΙΝΕΣ ΑΥΤΕΣ ΤΑΠΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ  
 ΠΚΕΚΕΙΩΝ ΤΕ  
 ΡΟΥ ΑΝΩΠΙΟΥ ΣΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΟΠΙΡΕΣ ΤΕΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΧΥ  
 ΖΑΝΑΙΩΝΑΡΕΝ ΤΑΥΤΟ ΠΣ  
 ΗΤΗΜΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΜΗΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΑΒΑΖΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ

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Fragment of a papyrus scroll with two columns of Greek text. The script is a cursive hand. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage. A black and white scale bar is visible at the bottom of the fragment.

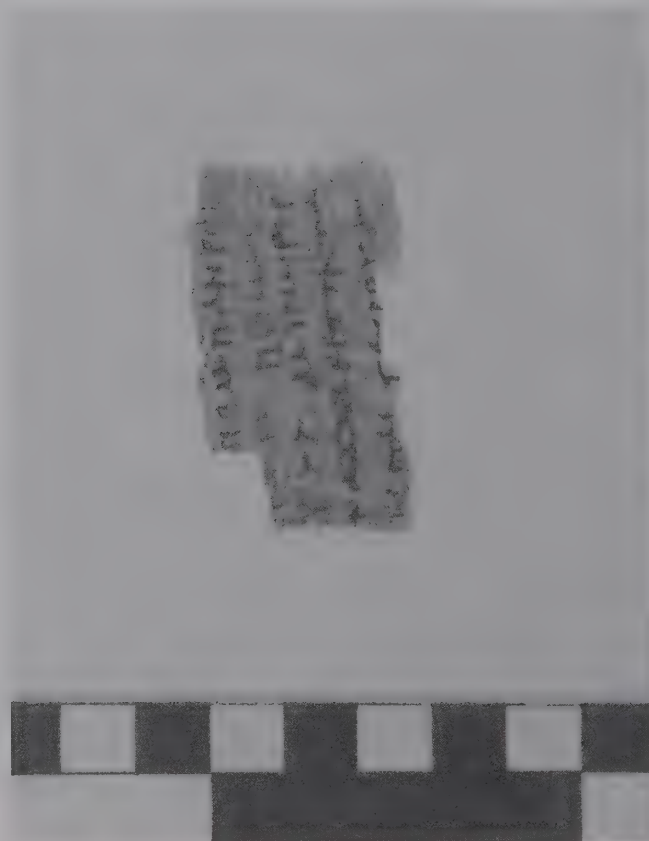
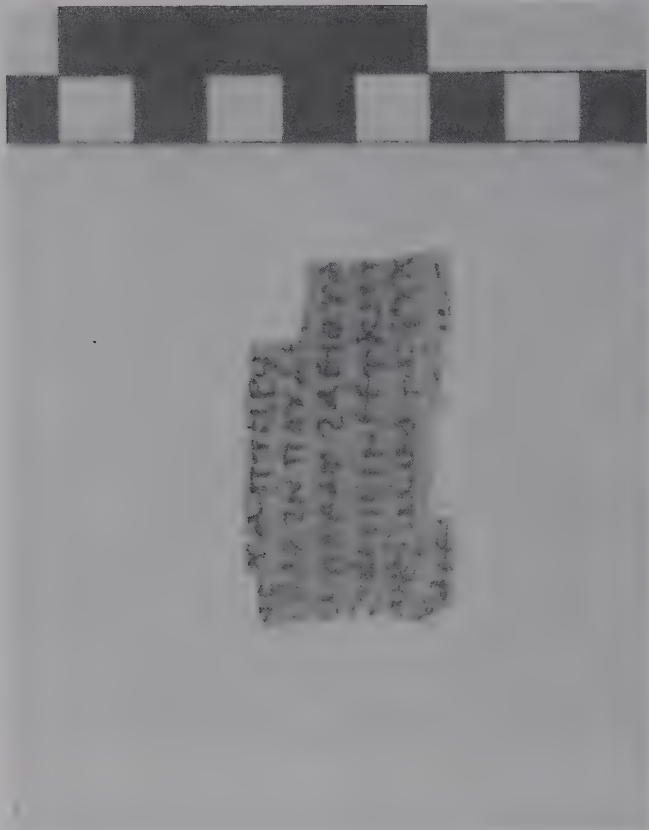
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with two columns of Greek text. The script is a cursive hand. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage. A black and white scale bar is visible at the bottom of the fragment.

9a. P. KELL. COPT. 2  
(= frame P 82Bii)

Fragment 1 (top left):  
...  
Fragment 2 (top right):  
...  
Fragment 3 (middle left):  
...  
Fragment 4 (middle right):  
...  
Fragment 5 (bottom left):  
...  
Fragment 6 (bottom right):  
...

Fragment 7 (top left):  
...  
Fragment 8 (top right):  
...  
Fragment 9 (middle left):  
...  
Fragment 10 (middle right):  
...  
Fragment 11 (bottom left):  
...  
Fragment 12 (bottom right):  
...

9b. P. KELL. COPT. 2  
(= frame P 82Bi)



10. P. KELL. COPT. 3





11. P. KELL. COPT. 4

11. P. KELL. COPT. 4

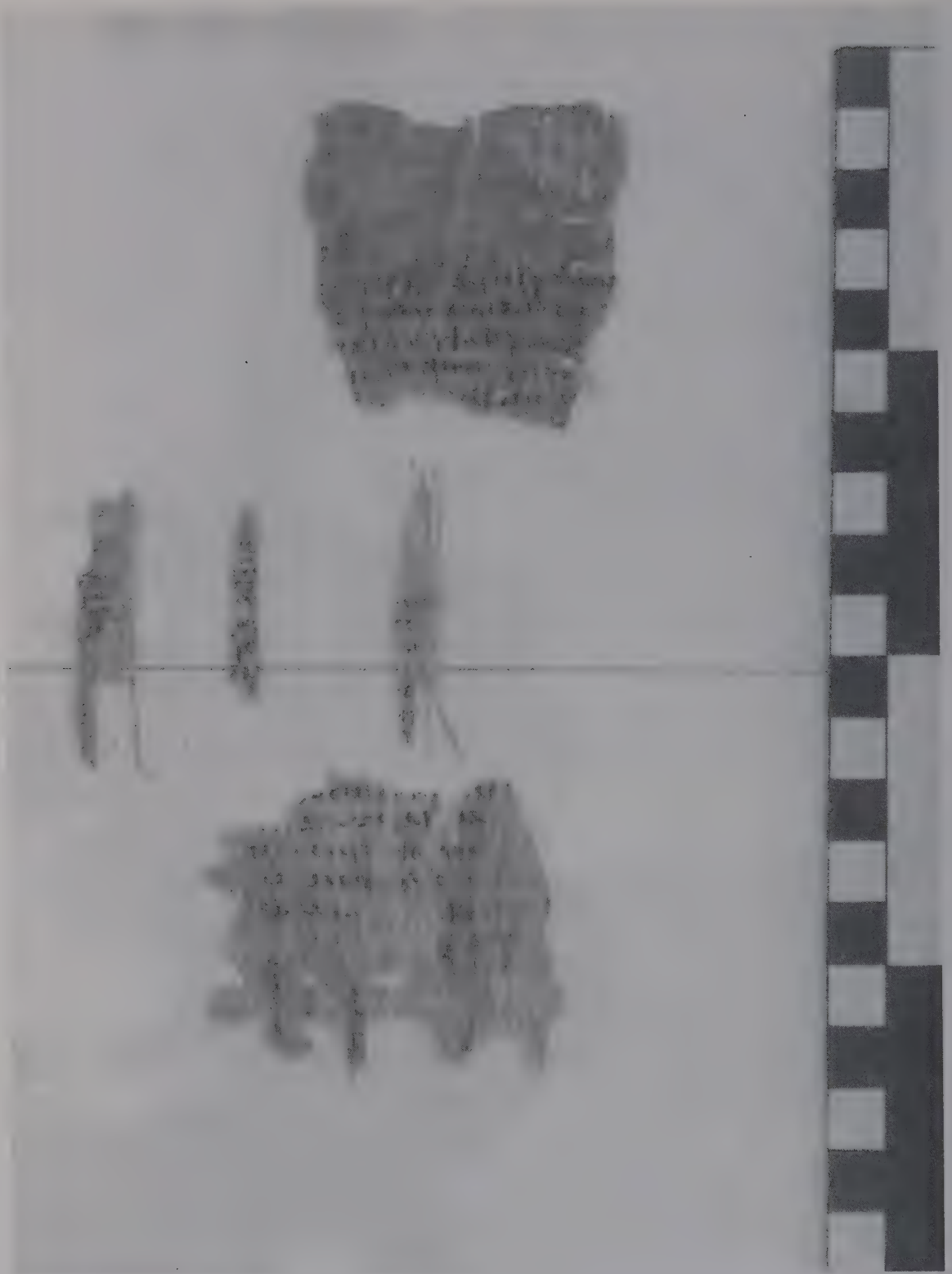
11. P. KELL. COPT. 4

11. P. KELL. COPT. 4

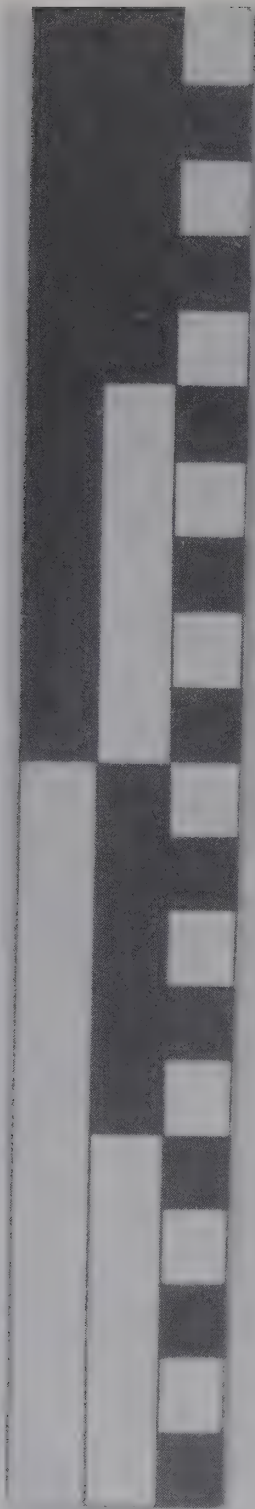


11. P. KELL. COPT. 4





12. P. KELL. COPT. 5



Handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the upper left quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read, but appears to be organized in a structured manner.

A vertical column of handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the center of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read.

A vertical column of handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the center-right of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read.

A vertical column of handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the right side of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read.

Handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the lower left quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to read, but appears to be organized in a structured manner.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with faint, illegible text. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. A vertical black and white checkered scale bar is visible on the right side of the fragment.

13. P. KELL. COPT. 6







*[Faded, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]*

*[Faded, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]*

*[Faded, illegible text]*

*[Faded, illegible text]*

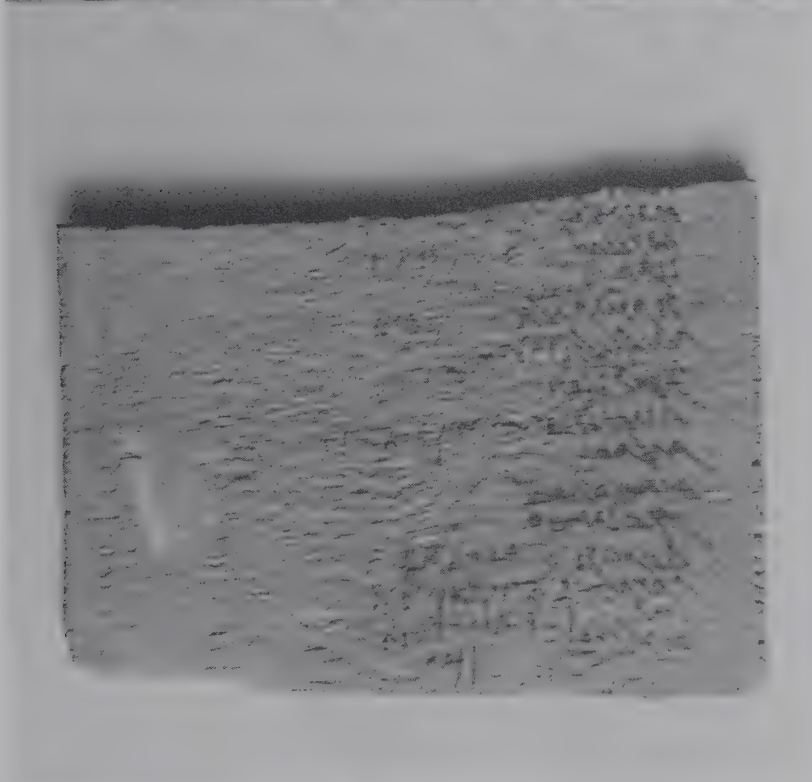
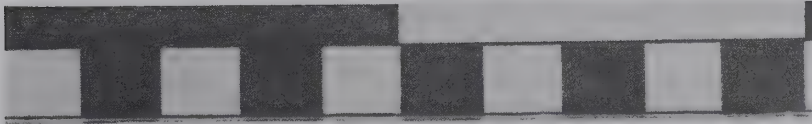
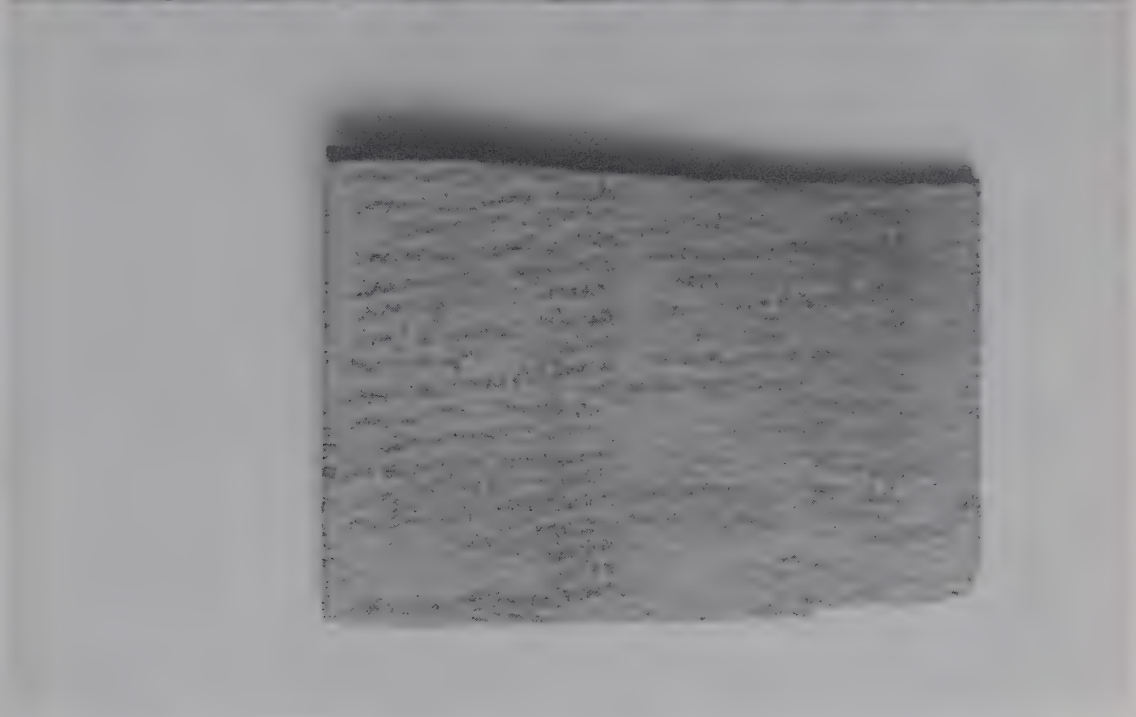
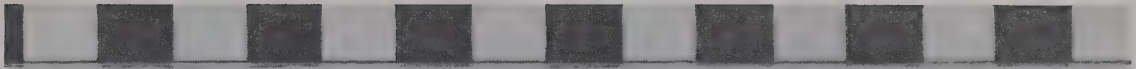
Handwritten text on a lined page, possibly a ledger or account book. The text is arranged in columns and rows, with some entries appearing to be numerical or monetary values. The handwriting is cursive and somewhat faded.

Handwritten text on a lined page, similar to the one above. It appears to be a continuation of the same type of record, with columns and rows of entries. The handwriting is consistent with the top page.



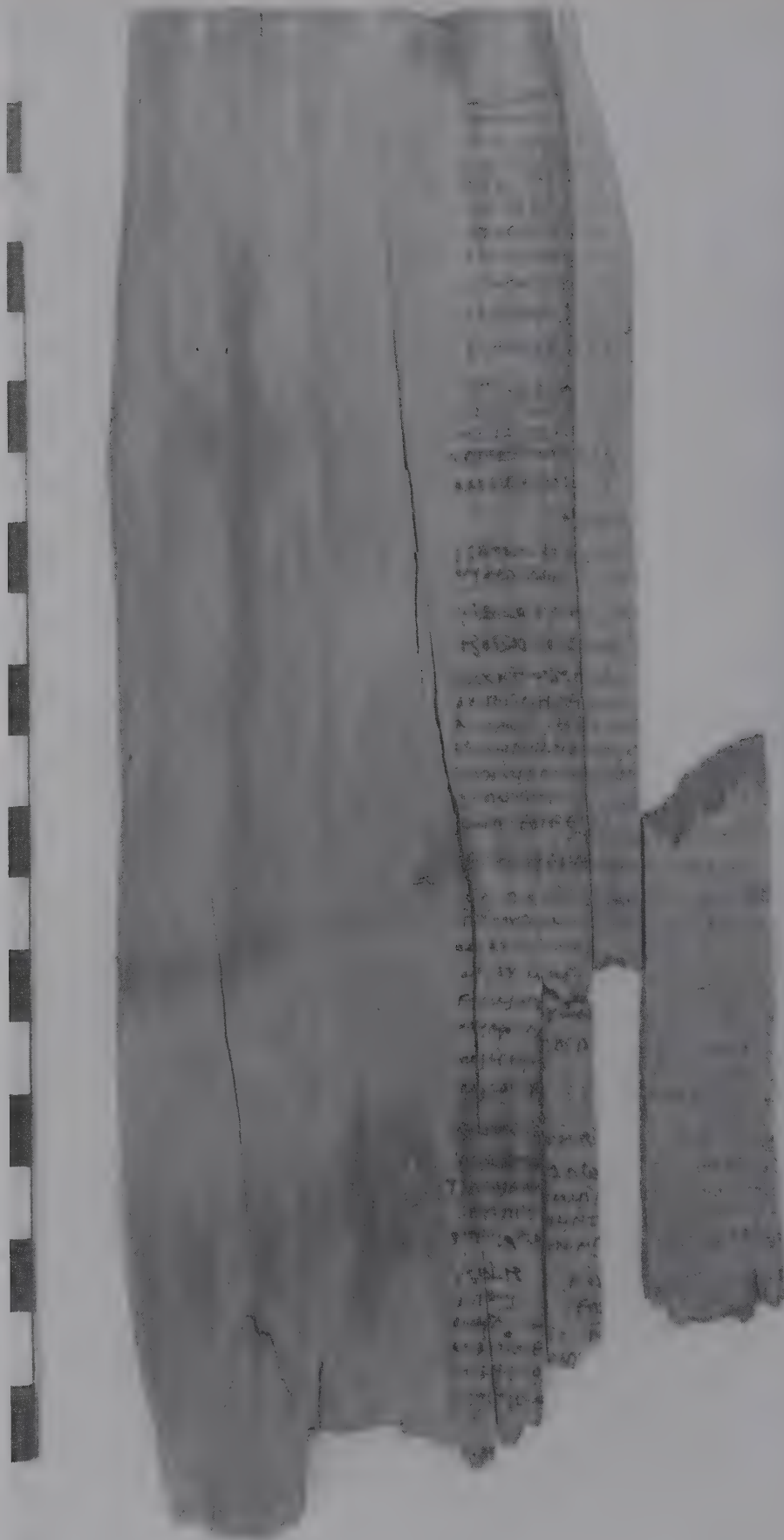
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several columns of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic text. The text is arranged in vertical columns, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is heavily damaged and partially obscured by a ruler on the left side.

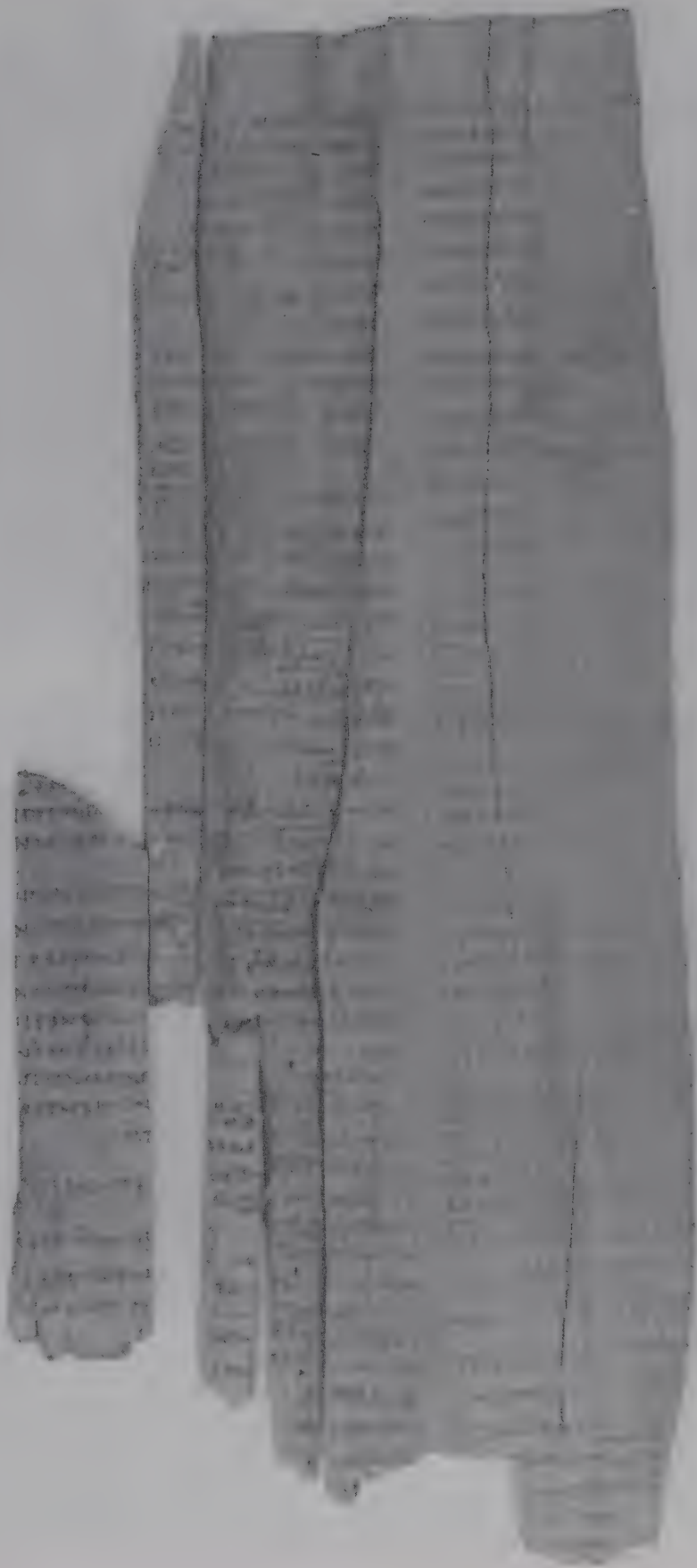


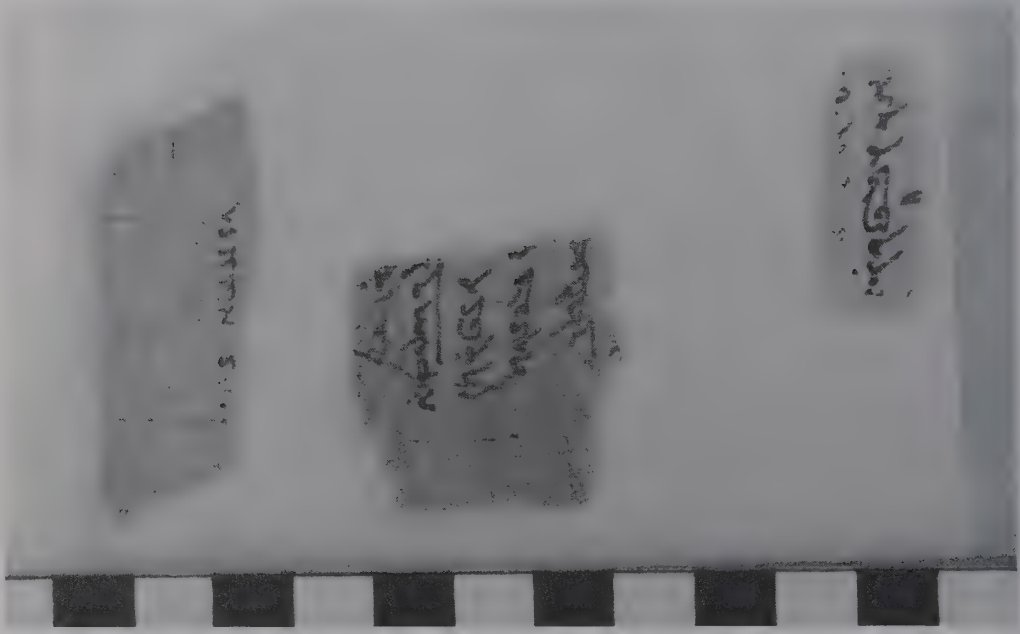
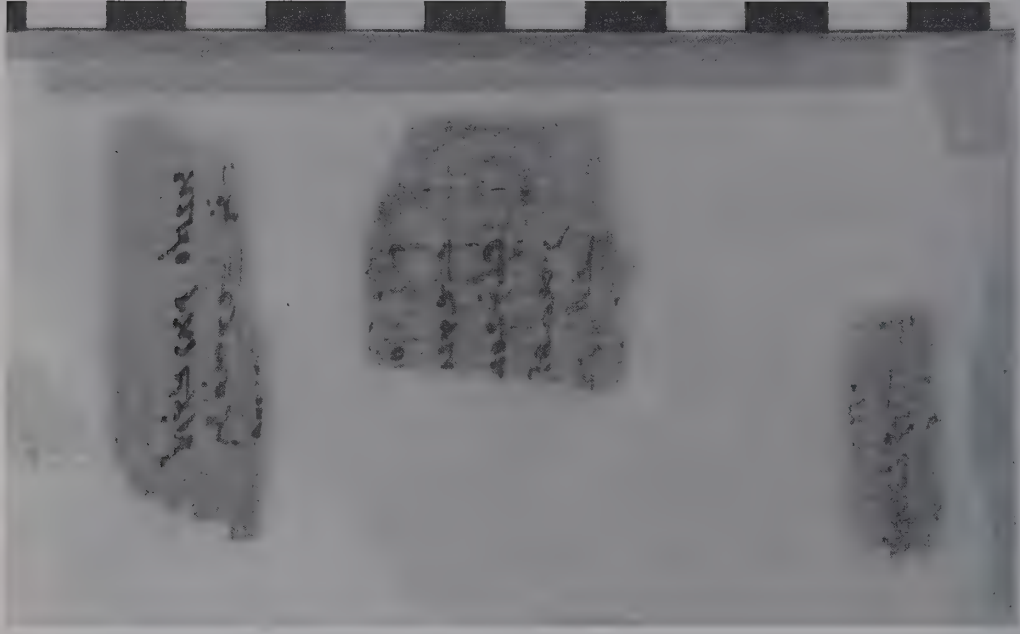


17. T. KELL. SYR. / COPT. 1

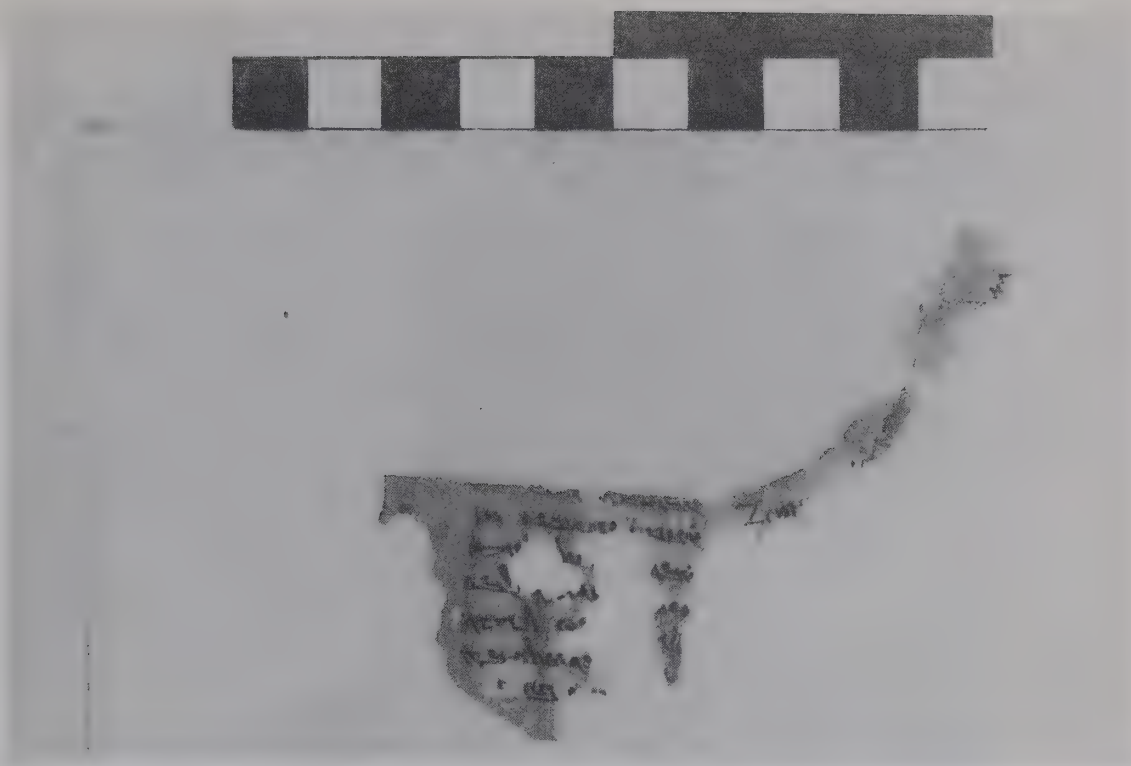






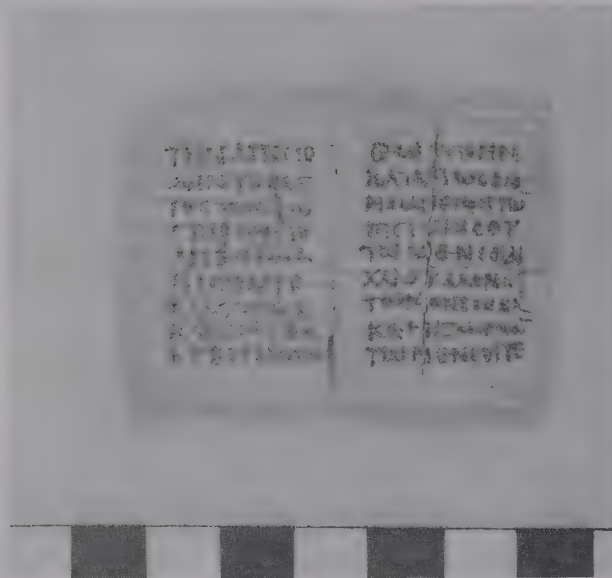
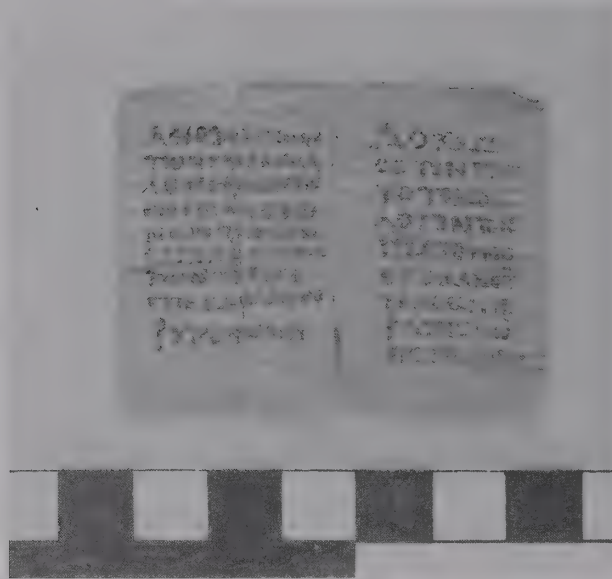


19. P. KELL. SYR. 1

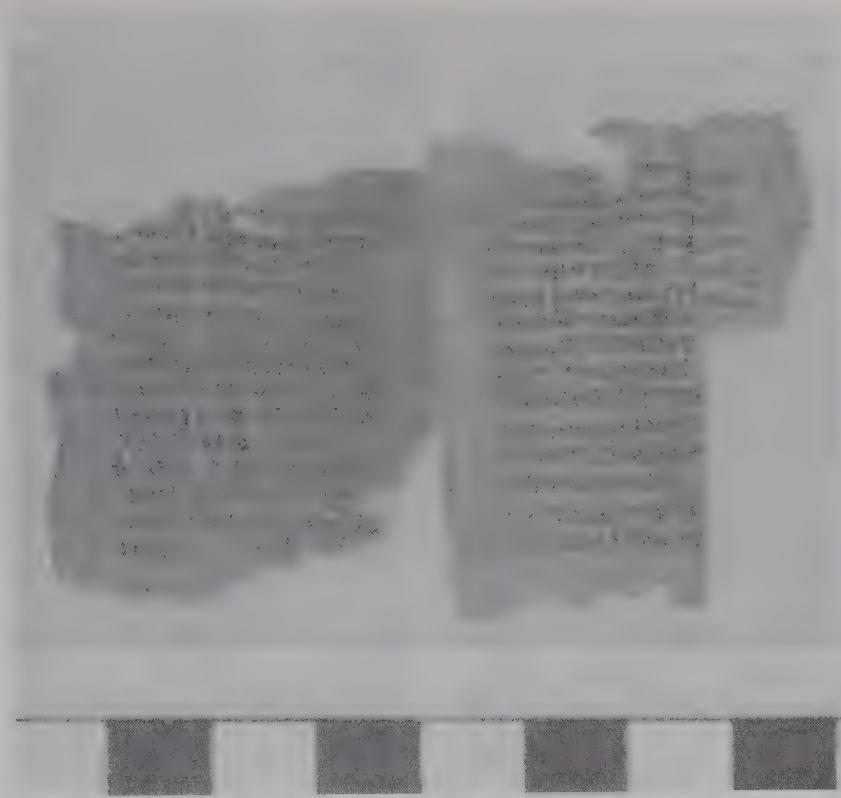


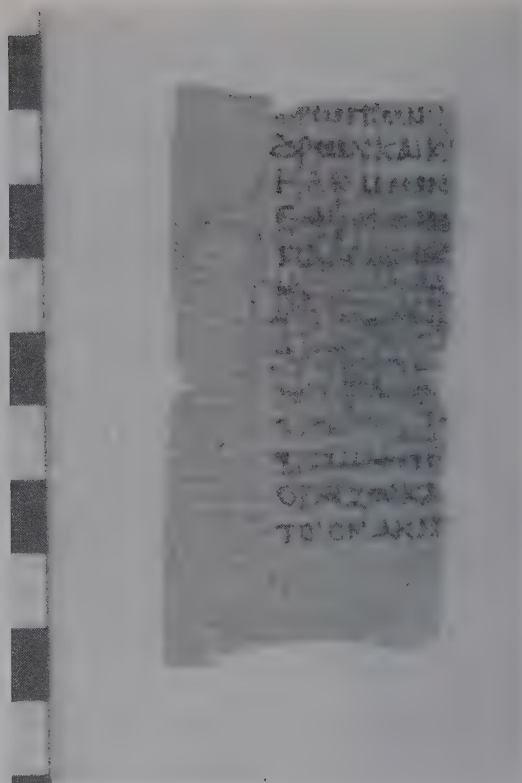
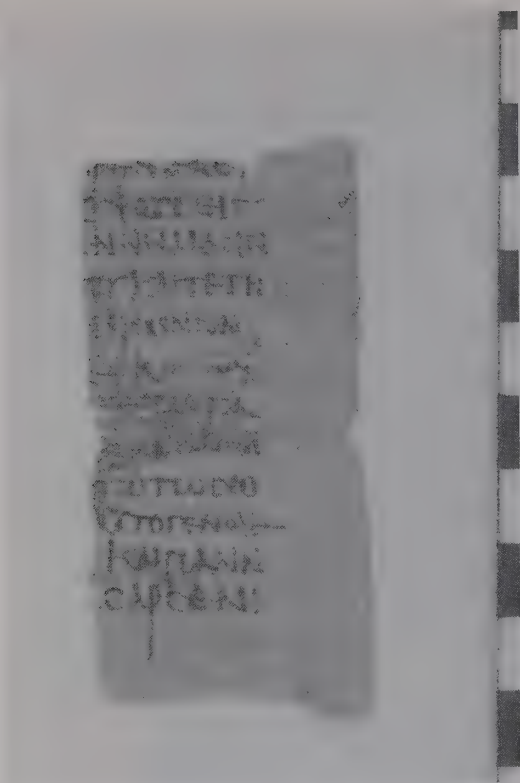
20. P. KELL. SYR./ GR. 1



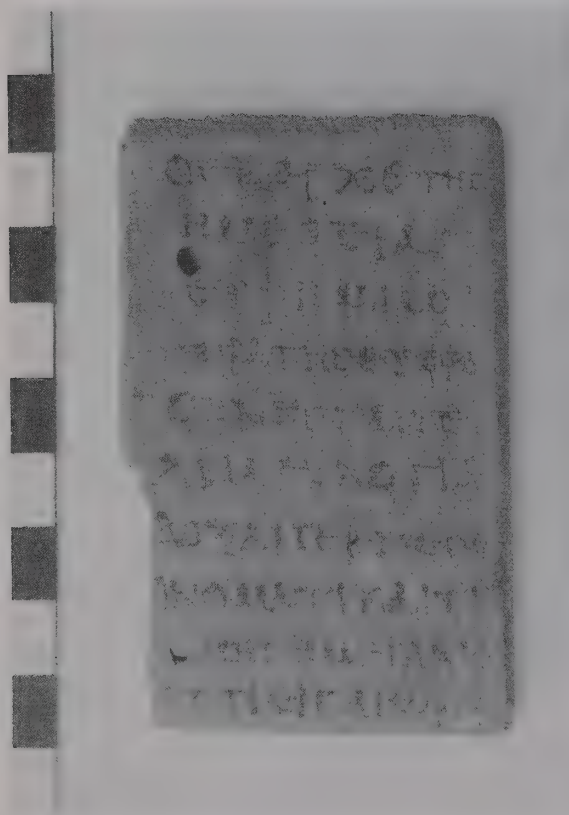


21. P. KELL. GR. 91





23. P. KELL. GR. 93



24. P. KELL. GR. 94







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